Volume Nine

Notes to Berkeley's Letters

Addenda etc.

General Index

The Works of George Berkeley Bishop of Cloyne

Edited by
A A Luce and T E Jessop

Volume Nine

Notes to Berkeley's Letters
Addenda etc.
General Index

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD *Alumni Dublinenses*, edd. G. D. Burtchaell and T. U. Sadleir, Dublin 1935

ALS Autograph letter, signed

Ball F. Elrington Ball, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, London 1910

Biog. Brit. *Biographia Britannica*

Brady (*Records*) W. M. Brady, *Clerical and parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, 1863

BM (Brit. Mus.) The British Museum

DNB *The Dictionary of National Biography*

EP The Egmont Papers, now in the Public Record Office, London

Life A. A. Luce, *The Life of George Berkeley*, Edinburgh 1949

LL A. C. Fraser, *Life and Letters of George Berkeley, D.D.*, Oxford 1871

LR G. Monck Berkeley, *Literary Relics containing original Letters* . . . 1789

NLI The National Library of Ireland

OED The Oxford English Dictionary

Pass. Obed. *Passive Obedience*

PC (*Phil. Comm.*) Berkeley's *Philosophical Commentaries, editio diplomatica*, Edinburgh 1944

Princ. *The Principles* . . .

Proc. R. I. Acad. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*

Proposal *A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches* . . .

RBP B. Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, Cambridge 1914

SPCK Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

SPG Society for the Propagation of the Gospel . . .

Stock (Stock's *Life*) *An Account of the Life of George Berkeley* . . . prefixed to the 1784 edn. of the *Works*, together with extracts from the letters

TCD Trinity College, Dublin

Notes to Berkeley's Letters

1 To MOLYNEUX

This letter with Nos. 4, 5, and 6 is from the letter-book of Samuel Molyneux in the archives of the Civic Centre, Southampton. All four are here published for the first time. The letter-book covers the period 9 January 1707 to 19 December 1709. It is largely taken up with correspondence about the revived Dublin Philosophical Society, of which Molyneux was the first secretary.

The opening of Berkeley's extant correspondence finds him a young man twenty-four years old, and a Fellow of Trinity College of two years' standing. His *New Theory of Vision* has already appeared and has attracted attention. His *Principles* is ready for press. He is spending a summer holiday at Burton, the southern seat of his friend, Sir John Percival (see No. 2n).

His correspondent is Samuel, son of William Molyneux, who wrote *Dioptrics, the Case of Ireland* . . . and other books. Samuel Molyneux (1689–1728) graduated in Trinity College, Dublin, and from an early age devoted himself to the pursuit of knowledge. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1712. Berkeley gave him tuitions, and dedicated to him his *Miscellanea Mathematica*, with high praise of his ability, industry, and *sciendi ardorem*. Molyneux entered politics, became secretary to the Prince of Wales, a Lord of the Admiralty, and a Member of Parliament, both at Westminster and in Dublin.

One of the aims of the revived Society was the collection of material for a Natural History of Ireland, and Berkeley here tries to supply information.

Buttefont or Buttevant. According to Archdale's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, pp. 58, 59, David Oge Barry, Lord Buttevant, founded a Franciscan monastery here in 1290 on the site of an earlier foundation. ' The walls of the choir and nave, with several other buildings, including the steeple, which is an high square tower, erected on a fine Gothic arch, are yet entire. . . . There were some fine paintings in fresco on the walls of this monastery, and a few of their remains are still visible.' See also J. Grove White, *Historical and Topographical Notes etc. on Buttevant, Castletownroche, Doneraile and Mallow*, Cork, 1905, p. 351. Liscarol Castle, five miles from Buttevant, ' the most important military erection of the 13th century.' H. J. Leask, in *Journal of Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, XLII (July–Dec. 1937), 92. Leask thinks that the fortress may have been built by the David Oge Barry, who built the monastery, but that it is probably of later date. It was acquired by Sir Philip Perceval in 1625. It was besieged in the 1641 rising, and a battle was fought there on 3 September 1642, see T. Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, III, 343–4.

In October 1641 the Irish rose against the English and much blood was shed. The rising lasted for nearly ten years ; in the end the forces of the Commonwealth restored the authority of the English.

2 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 57

The correspondence between Berkeley and Sir John Percival was practically co-terminous with their friendship which lasted for almost forty years. The last extant letter is No. 251, dated 3 December 1747. Percival, then the first Earl of Egmont, died on 1 May 1748, and was succeeded in the title by his son, to whom Berkeley addressed No. 252 in condolence and congratulation. Percival's father had served under Cromwell in Ireland, and had acquired estates in the south. Sir John, born at Burton, Co. Cork, in 1683, succeeded to the title in 1691 ; educated at Westminster and Magdalen College, Oxford, after a tour on the Continent he came to Ireland in 1708 to visit his estates near Mallow ; in the autumn of that year he and Berkeley met in Dublin, and the two young men at once formed a close friendship. In the following year, 1709, Berkeley published his first great work, *An Essay towards a New Theory of Vision*, with a dedication to Percival, and in the dedication he speaks warmly of Percival's friendliness, public spirit, and social qualities. The dedication spells the name *Percivale* ; *Perceval* is the spelling of the epitaphs of the family in St. Michan's church, Dublin.

Berkeley's letters to Percival should be read along with Percival's replies, which are to be found in B. Rand's *Berkeley and Percival*, Cambridge, 1914. Percival replied to this letter on 6 October from London, giving his views on marriage and house-furnishing, and accepting the advice about books and study ; he says that he is studying the principles of government, and advises Berkeley to read Higden's *A View of the English Constitution*. . . . Percival was a cultured man with a special interest in family history, and his huge collection of letters and other documents, now known as the ' Egmont Papers,' was in the main material for the history of his own family, published in 1742 with the title *A Genealogical History of the House of Yvery*.

Daniel Dering, often mentioned in the correspondence, was Percival's cousin, and through him Berkeley and Percival became acquainted. Sir John's mother was Catherine, fourth daughter of Sir Edward Dering, Bart. Mr Deering (*sic*) and his aunt are referred to in Berkeley's *Philosophical Commentaries* (Nos. 127, 201), written in 1707–8. Daniel Dering, Commissioner of the Wine Licence, Dublin, married Mary Parker, Lady Percival's sister, in 1719 ; he died in 1730.

On the word ' rarities ' Percival has the note ' My collection lost (not *list*, as in *RBP*, p. 57n) which I made when abroad.' *Medals*, i.e. coins. When Berkeley went to Italy, he was commisssioned to buy books, prints, etc. for various friends ; for Percival he bought eight terra cotta busts, marbles and the *serie mezana* of bronze coins, from Julius Caesar to Gallienus (see Nos. 70, 71, 72).

Burton, Co. Cork, was Percival's chief seat in the south of Ireland ; he was elected Knight of the Shire in 1704. A description of Burton with pictures of Kanturk and Loghort castles is contained in *The*

Antient & Present State of the County and City of Cork, Book II, ch. 6, by Chas. Smith, Dublin, 1750. On p. 317 is an account of Sir Philip Percival, said to have owned 90,000 acres in Ireland and to have fortified five of his castles. Burton is in the barony of Duhallow. Loghort Castle, near Mallow, still to be seen, was visited by Berkeley and his party in August 1750, and a spirited picture of the castle and the visit is contained in the letter printed in my *Life*, p. 212.

3 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 61

A letter dealing with the political questions of the hour. In 1709 Dr Henry Sacheverell preached sermons at Derby and St Paul's, London, advocating doctrines dear to the high-Church Tories, and in favour of non-resistance. The sermons made a great stir, but the House of Commons declared them to be seditious libels, and the preacher was suspended from preaching for three years. (See G. M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne*, III, ch. 3.) In the same year William Higden, of King's College, Cambridge, afterwards Canon of Canterbury, published *A View of the English Constitution . . . in vindication of the lawfulness of taking the oaths to her Majesty by the law required.* For many years, he says, he had been unable to reconcile himself to the oaths ; but now found that he had previously been under a misapprehension about the Constitution. Percival calls him ' a non-juror, but now convinced of his error.' Higden's book went through several editions.

Berkeley's *Principles* must have been well forward, if not actually in the press, when he wrote this letter, and his mind turned with ease from high metaphysics to practical problems of ethics and politics. Two of his own publications trace to these studies, viz. *Passive Obedience*, 1712 (1st and 2nd editions), 1713 (3rd edition), and his anonymous tract, *Advice to the Tories who have taken the Oaths*, 1715. His rejection of the distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* kingship is characteristic ; the same bent and bias towards the actual led him to reject metaphysical abstractions in favour of the concrete realities of sense. The second point in his criticism of Higden concerns that conflict of loyalties, acutely felt by the non-Jacobite, high-Church Tories (as was Berkeley). How could they accept the revolution that was past without condoning and promoting the Jacobite rebellion, the shadow of which already lay across the land ? How could they teach obedience without approving tyranny ? ' Must we then submit our necks to the sword ? And is there no help, no refuge against extreme tyranny established by law ? ' (*Pass. Obed.*, SS. 49 ff.) In such cases, Berkeley argues, rebellion is a duty, and such rebellion does not conflict with the Pauline doctrine of submission ; for the tyrant is not ' the supreme power.'

The first part of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, London 1698, attacks Filmer's principles ; the latter part sets forth ' the true original

extent and end of civil government.' This work, according to Stock's memoir, turned Berkeley's attention to the doctrine of passive obedience. The edition of Plato, here mentioned, is *The Works of Plato abridg'd . . . in two volumes, by M. Dacier, tr. from the French*, London 1701. The Clerkes were friends or connections of the Percivals, and they showed attentions to Berkeley when he went to London.

Ralph Lambert (1666–1732), Dean of Down, Bishop of Dromore (1717), of Meath (1727), author of minor controversial works concerning nonconformity, the repeal of the Test Acts, and Convocation. Lord Wharton, when Lord Lieutenant, made Lambert his Chaplain in consequence of his sermon of 27 October 1708 in London, attacking Roman Catholics and advocating union with nonconformists. *Partiality Detected*, London 1708, pp. 87–94, quotes a long letter by Lambert on the proceedings in the Irish Convocation, traversing a statement by Archdeacon Percival and Higgins. For this tract, *Remarks upon a Letter . . .* (Dublin 1709), and Lambert's *A Vindication of the Letter . . .* (pub. 1710, written earlier), see collection of pamphlets (P dd II) in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and Elrington Ball's edition of Swift's *Letters*, I, 124n, 202.

Henry Tennison (*c.*1667–1709), son of the Bishop of Clogher, B.A. TCD 1687, M.P. for Monaghan 1695, Commissioner of the Revenue 1703–4.

4 To MOLYNEUX

See note on No. 1

On 20 November 1709 Berkeley was appointed Librarian. He held the office for a year. This was a critical period in the history of the College Library. The old building was in a ruinous state, and on 1 June 1709 the Irish House of Commons petitioned the Crown for a grant of five thousand pounds towards the erection of a new building. The grant was made. Similar grants were made in 1717 and 1721. The building was begun on 12 May 1712; the main structure was completed in 1724, and the Library was opened in 1732. The architect was Thomas Burgh. *The Dublin Scuffle*, 1699, by John Dunton notes, 'The College consists of three squares . . . on the south side of which stands the Library the whole length of the square . . . over the Scholars Lodgings, the length of one of the quadrangles.' See C. Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College*, 1946, p. 168.

The Earl of Pembroke was Lord Lieutenant from April 1707 to November 1708. He attended the meetings of the Dublin Philosophical Society, and was a generous patron of learning. In 1698 he gave the College £500 to buy books. These may be the books mentioned in the letter. For Berkeley's friendship with him, see No. 10n.

Owen Lloyd, elected Fellow 1685, became Professor of Divinity and was appointed Dean of Connor in 1709; he died in 1738.

'Edward' is a copyist's mistake for Elwood. John Elwood, Jurist,

was co-opted Senior Fellow *vice* Lloyd 25 November 1709 ; he became Vice-Provost and was M.P. for the University ; he died in 1740.

The Bishop of Cork was Dive Downes, who was succeeded in 1710 by Provost Peter Browne. Benjamin Pratt became Provost, and thus Berkeley's expectation of a second 'step' was fulfilled. Edward Wetenhall, Bishop of Kilmore (1699) was succeeded in 1715 by Timothy Goodwin.

Kilkenny, Berkeley's birthplace, is still a city of fine buildings, notably St Canice's Cathedral, where the native marble with its high polish and lustre may be seen to good effect. From the letter one gathers that the streets were paved with marble in those days. Kilkenny College, where Berkeley spent three years, is at a bend of the river Nore, with the great castle of the Ormondes rising high above it on the far bank. The drawing, treasured by the Duchess, was apparently (from the context) of the Cave of Dunmore, five miles from the city. Berkeley visited the cave in July 1699, and some years later wrote a spirited account of it, which has survived in manuscript in three forms ; see vol. IV, pp. 242–3, 257–64.

On Thomas Prior, Berkeley's lifelong friend and correspondent, see vol. VIII, Introduction, p. 10. The *Essay on Vision* went to a second edition (1709, i.e., probably, early in 1710, N.S.), which adds an Appendix to answer the objections made by William King, Archbishop of Dublin ; see No. 8.

5 To MOLYNEUX

See Note on No. 1

The epistemological questions raised by Molyneux here and in No. 6 spring ultimately from Descartes' discussion of the imagination in relation to the existence of material things in his sixth Meditation, and they are pointed by Locke's two principles, (*a*) No knowledge without ideas, and (*b*) All significant words stand for ideas, which Berkeley at first accepted and later rejected.

Molyneux, who was only twenty years old at the time of writing, had evidently not made clear his own approach, and the deeper metaphysical implications had probably escaped him. His interest in them may have been aroused by the famous Molyneux Problem, invented by his father and discussed by Berkeley in his *Essay on Vision* (S. 132 ; cf. *Phil. Comm.*, Entry 27n).

Are ideas of the imagination representative? The answer, for Berkeley, is Yes. They are '*ideas* or *images of things* which they copy and represent' (*Princ.*, 33, cf. *Phil. Comm.*, Entries 657a, 818 and 823, with my notes). On this point they differ radically from ideas of sense, which are all presentative.

The supplementary question, 'are they exact representations?' was, no doubt, prominent in Molyneux's mind. Berkeley is careful to require both in this letter and the next only a 'rude' resemblance. He takes up a similar position in his *Essay on Vision* (SS. 140 ff.), where

after giving his own remarkable solution of the Molyneux Problem he *ad interim* supposes ideas of sight to be representative of ideas of touch, and asks how can they get the same name when they are so different.

The question about the chiliagon and reasoning without ideas comes straight from Descartes' sixth Meditation. Berkeley at an early stage (see *Phil. Comm.*, Entry 377 ff. with my notes) abandoned Locke's principle that all knowledge is about ideas, maintaining (e.g. *Princ.*, 135) that our knowledge of spirit and activity is necessarily without ideas.

Numbering, for Berkeley, is an act of mind, and numbers, for him, are not real ideas, but names for the units used in the process, as letters are used in Algebra (see *Phil. Comm.*, Entry 758 ff., with my note).

The inconsistencies in Descartes are mentioned also in *Phil. Comm.*, Entries 784, 785.

On Bligh (or Blithe) see No. 15n. Caldwell is mentioned in several other letters, but without much detail, see No. 93n. On Elwood, see No. 4n.

6 To MOLYNEUX

See note on No. 1

Molyneux was evidently not convinced by No. 5, and in his reply he seems to have tried to establish geometrical objects or ideas, to be apprehended by a non-sensuous faculty of reason or ' pure intellect.' Berkeley will have none of it ; he insists that the geometer's object is some physical object such as atmosphere or light, the path making the curve which is treated as typical, thus accounting for the generality or universality on which geometrical demonstration is based.

Molyneux was arguing, perhaps unconsciously, for Locke's abstract idea of a triangle, and Berkeley is clearly defending his thesis of the *Principles* (Introduction, S. 19) : ' it is not necessary (even in the strictest reasonings) significant names which stand for ideas should, every time they are used, excite in the understanding the ideas they are made to stand for.' Molyneux rejects the analogy with algebraic reasoning ; but Berkeley in spite of his sleepiness easily finds in the rules of grammar an analogy to the rules of algebra.

7 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 68

Written in reply to Percival's letter of 29 November, which praises the *Crito* and the character of Socrates, and refers to the case of Mr Whiston. Berkeley's tribute to Socrates is noteworthy, and his tribute to the *Phaedo* shows that he had been a student of the Greek classics from his earliest days in College.

Swift in his exposure of Partridge used the pseudonym ' Isaac Bickerstaff Esq.' Sir Richard Steele (1672–1729) adopted the same

pseudonym, and he styled the *Tatler*, which he edited from 1709 to 1711 with the help of Addison, Swift and others, *The Lucubrations Of Isaac Bickerstaff Esq.* For references to Plato in the *Tatler*, see No. 90, 'the divine Plato,' and No. 135, he (Cicero) 'would rather be in the wrong with Plato than in the right with such company.'

William Whiston (1667–1752), Cambridge physicist and divine, elaborated a theory of the earth on Newtonian principles. His voluminous works are numbered as fifty-two in the *DNB*. Commonly regarded as an Arian, he was deprived of his living and of the Lucasian Professorship. He was a frank and outspoken man, who, if Berkeley's account is correct, did not deny the divinity of Christ, but refused to draw the obvious consequences. W. Stoughton, Prebendary of St Patrick's, preached a sermon on 1 Samuel xii, 24–5 in Christ Church Cathedral; it was printed in Dublin, and reprinted in London, 1709.

8 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 71

Writing some eight weeks before the publication of the *Principles*, Berkeley here makes some interesting remarks on his two masterpieces. Here we learn that the Archbishop of Dublin had criticized the *New Theory of Vision*, and that to meet his criticisms the Appendix was added in the second edition. Note too the restrained statement of the aims of the *Principles*, and the tactical avoidance of any mention of the denial of matter, as is more fully stated in No. 12 below.

William King (1650–1729), Dean of St Patrick's (1689), Bishop of Derry (1691), Archbishop of Dublin (1703), author of *De origine mali* (1702), preached the famous sermon, here mentioned, in Christ Church, Dublin, on 15 May 1709. In many respects it is a fine piece of work, and it received high praise from Archbishop Whateley. Starting from the distinction between divine and human knowledge, it cuts the ground from under the feet of those who dispute about predestination and free-will; but it goes too far along that line, and argues that God has no more thought and will, as we know them, than He has hands and feet. All the divine attributes, including goodness and justice, are taken metaphorically, and God becomes the Great Unknown. King's friend, Peter Browne, Provost of Trinity College and, later, Bishop of Cork, refined on the notion of analogy, and published two books which Berkeley criticized. In 1710 Anthony Collins, the deist, published *A Vindication of the Divine Attributes*, arguing forcibly that King's sermon gives up the case against Bayle, atheism and unitarianism. Berkeley deals ably with the controversy in *Alciphron*, IV, 17 ff.; he styles King's doctrine 'cutting knots, and not untying them . . . clearing up doubts by nonsense.'

Samuel Molyneux (1689–1728), only child of William Molyneux (see No. 81), a pupil of Berkeley, who dedicated to him the *Miscellanea Mathematica*; B.A., TCD 1708, M.A. 1710. As Secretary to the Prince of Wales he befriended Berkeley when the sermons on passive

obedience were attacked as disloyal. He was occupied for a time with politics on the Continent, and was with the Duke of Marlborough at Antwerp, but, like his father, his chief interests were scientific. The 'Congress' he proposed to attend may have been the Baltic Convention or the negotiations with the French at Gertruydenberg; both took place in the early spring of 1710.

Note 'a nation in its nonage.' Berkeley and Percival were in the Swift-Molyneux tradition, combining loyalty to the Crown with nationalism in Irish politics. The Tholsel was Dublin's City Hall; 'the original Tholsel (toll-gatherers' stall) . . . was built in the reign of Edward II. It was rebuilt in Skinner's Row in 1683, and being in a state of decay, was pulled down in 1809.' C. Maxwell, *Dublin under the Georges*, p. 87, n. 2.

Archdeacon William Percival, Sir John's cousin (see *RBP*, p. 72n), a prominent Tory and Prolocutor of Convocation, received an Honorary Degree for defending the franchise of the College (College Register, 8 February 1714). On Sacheverell see No. 3n; on Lambert see No. 3n and E. H. Alton, *Some Fragments of College History*, p. 162. 'Greg's fate'—William Greg, Harley's secretary and intelligence agent, offered to supply military information to the French War Minister in return for a pass for a British merchant ship; tried for treason at the Old Bailey, and executed. On Dan. Dering, see No. 2n.

Sir Richard Bulkley (1663–1710), great-grandson of Launcelot Bulkley, Archbishop of Dublin (1619–50); elected Fellow TCD 1681, resigned 1682; M.P. for Fethard (see *DNB*). He was connected with 'the French prophets'—men known as *Camisars* in France, who claimed prophetic powers and came to England in 1706. Bulkley wrote in defence of them, and was answered by Hoadly in 1709 in his *A Brief Vindication of the Ancient Prophets* . . .; see J. T. Rutt, *Life of Calamy*, II, 75.

Mr Clarke is, no doubt, Dr Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), metaphysician and moralist, Rector of St James', Westminster (1709), author of *On the Being and Attributes of God*, 1704–5, friend of Whiston (see No. 7n), who in his *Memoirs of Dr Clarke*, pp. 79–91 tells of Berkeley's attempt to draw Clarke into a correspondence. Stock quotes the passage, adding that Addison arranged a meeting between Clarke and Berkeley, and that after discussion they separated without reaching any agreement.

9 To ARCHBISHOP KING

ALS, Library TCD; first published by C. S. King, 'A Great Archbishop of Dublin,' page 121

Elected Fellow 9 June 1707, Berkeley proceeded to take Holy Orders, as required by the statutes. He was made a deacon on 19 February 1709 in the College Chapel by Dr Ashe, Bishop of Clogher and Vice-Chancellor of the University, and in the same place and by the same hands he was ordained priest in the following spring. It was an

improper act on the part of the Bishop, and the Archbishop determined to put a stop to the practice, perhaps influenced by the letter of the Dean of St Patrick's (Stearne), dated 4 April 1710, telling of the scene in the College Chapel when the Bishop of Raphoe protested against the consecration of Peter Browne as Bishop of Cork. Berkeley himself seems to have acted with perfect propriety in the matter, and he was not permanently censured; but his letters make no subsequent reference to King, and the two great thinkers were clearly not on good terms.

St George Ashe (*c.*1658–1718), Fellow TCD 1679, Provost 1692, Vice-Chancellor 1702, F.R.S., Bishop of Cloyne 1695, Clogher 1697, Derry 1717. He was intimate with Swift, and is said to have performed the alleged Swift-Stella marriage. Berkeley undertook his second Continental tour as tutor to the Bishop's son.

10 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 77

For Percival's pre-marriage views on marriage see his amusing letter to Helena Le Grand, *RBP*, p. 4; he married Catherine, daughter of Sir Philip Parker of Co. Suffolk on 20 June 1710; they had several children. Lady Percival, critic of Berkeley's immaterialism (see No. 12 and *RBP*, p. 81) was always his good friend, and through her friendship with the Duchess of Grafton helped him to secure the Deanery of Derry.

Thomas, 8th Earl of Pembroke (1656–1733), friend and correspondent of Locke, who dedicated to him his *Essay*, held high offices of state, and was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from April 1707 to November 1708. A benefactor of Trinity College, he had expressed approval of a 'harangue' by Berkeley (*Phil. Comm.*, Entry 396), who dedicated to him his *Principles*, published in Dublin in May 1710. They met later in London and became close friends. Berkeley bought books for the Earl in Italy (No. 70), and the Earl contributed to the Bermuda scheme and advised upon it.

11 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 78

Berkeley's request for opinions on his *Principles* had striking consequences, for which see No. 12. His happy marriage in 1728 confirms the views here expressed, and later in life he speaks of wife and children as the greatest of earthly blesssings.

The 'parliament man' was probably Edward Hoare, M.P. for Cork City, ancestor of the Baronets of Annabella.

12 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 81

A letter of interest to all and of importance to philosophers. It is a *cri de cœur*, carefully worded and exactly phrased. Berkeley is touched to the quick, and is uttering a protest, still all too necessary, against those who mock ' the name of his book,' but will not read it seriously.

In No. 11 Berkeley asked for a report which Percival gave on 26 August 1710. The *Principles* had arrived ; but his London friends would not read it ; the mention of the subject-matter was enough ; they all treated it with ridicule. ' A physician of my acquaintance undertook to describe your person, and argued you must needs be mad, and that you ought to take remedies. A bishop pitied you that a desire and vanity of starting something new should put you on such an undertaking. . . . Another told me an ingenious man ought not to be discouraged from exercising his wit, and said Erasmus was not the worse thought of for writing in praise of folly, but that you are not gone so far as a gentleman in town who asserts not only that there is no such thing as matter but that we have no being at all. My wife, who has all the good esteem and opinion of you that is possible from your just notions of marriage-happiness, desires to know if there be nothing but spirit and ideas, what you make of that part of the six days' creation which preceded man.' Berkeley answers these criticisms *seriatim.*

He knew that he was contradicting ' vulgar and settled opinion ' and that caution was necessary ; hence he omitted all mention of the denial of matter from title and ' preliminaries,' and put the stress on the affirmative consequences of the denial. In the body of the work he hides nothing. In S. 7 he says explicitly ' there is not any other substance than spirit ' ; but the same denial is implicit in the first section, and from that onwards the facts of the perceptual situation are so stated as to leave no room for material substance or need for it ; thus the notion of immaterialism ' steals unawares on the reader.'

The charge of insincerity is sufficiently met by the very hazards of the task. Who so vain as to wish to appear mad among wise men ? Besides, had vanity been his motive, he would have rushed into print when the great thought first came to him. Instead, he had waited five or six years, examining the question from every angle carefully. Locke and Descartes had left the nature and status of the external world in a dubious position, and Arthur Collier, working independently, reached a conclusion similar to Berkeley's in *Clavis Universalis. Those* who have studied the build-up of the argument in the *Philosophical Commentaries* or the patient and exhaustive answers to Objections in the *Principles* SS. 34–84 know what meticulous care Berkeley bestowed on his thesis at every stage.

The other charge is that of scepticism about the external world, and from that day to this those who would rather mock than understand have made this charge against him. They should ponder the

plain statement of this letter, borne out by countless passages in his publications (e.g. *Princ.*, S. 35), ' I question not the existence of anything that we perceive by our senses.'

Lady Percival's astute objection shows that feminine intelligence was not so backward then, as we often assume. Her difficulty had long been in Berkeley's mind and is referred to in his *Phil. Comm.*, Entries 60, 293, 339, 436, 723 and 830. It is the theological setting of the problem of the unperceived perceivable. What happens to colours in the dark ? Where were the colours of dawn before the creation of man ? Fundamentally the two questions are one and the same. Berkeley deals with them in terms of the perceivable in sections 45–8 of the *Principles*, and in terms of creation in the third of the *Three Dialogues* towards the end. (Hylas *loq.*) ' Moses tells us of a creation ; a creation of what ? Of ideas ? No, certainly, but of things, of real things, solid, corporeal substances. Bring your principles to agree with this, and I shall perhaps agree with you.' Berkeley's reply, both in his book and in this letter is substantially as follows : The God-given thing of sense, in whole and part, is *for the mind* ; given possible perception by man or actual perception by some other intelligence, in either case the reality of the created world of sense is safe-guarded without resort to material substance.

Party feeling between Whig and Tory ran high in Dublin, and Berkeley had the name of not having declared himself. The coffee-house incident illustrates his detachment. John Caulfield, son of William, Viscount Charlemont, entered Trinity College in July 1678, and was M.P. for Charlemont in 1703. On Sacheverell see No. 3n. On the Earl of Pembroke and the presentation copy of the *Principles* see No. 10n.

13 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 86

Sir William Temple (1628–9), statesman and author, was opposed to the arbitrary actions of Charles II, and was compelled to retire into private life ; he purchased Moor Park, where Swift served as his secretary. He wrote, *Works*, 1740, 1, 305, ' Leisure and solitude, the best effects of riches, because mother of thought. Both avoided by most rich men, who seek company and business, which are signs of being weary of themselves.' ' Thought is to the mind what motion is to the body,' a favourite comparison with the Cartesians, found in Malebranche's *Recherche.* On the Earl of Pembroke see No. 10n.

14 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 88

Percival wrote from London on 30 October 1710 reporting at second hand that Clarke and Whiston (see Nos. 7, 8, with notes ib.) had read the *Principles.* ' They think you are a fair arguer and a clear writer,

but they say the first principles you lay down are false. They look on you as an extraordinary genius, and profess a value for you, . . . ranking you with Father Malebranche, Norris and another whose name I have forgot. . . .' The special interest of this criticism lies in the reference to Malebranche and Norris. It has long been the custom to trace Berkeley's thought to Locke, and it is important to note that contemporary readers of the *Principles* thought at once of Malebranche, and of Norris, the 'English Malebranche.' The literary evidence for Berkeley's debt to Malebranche has been assembled in my *Berkeley and Malebranche* (1934), and the evidence needs to be weighed and stated carefully, as I have done there. Berkeley was an independent, original thinker, neither a Lockian, nor a Malebranchian ; but he was steeped both in the *Essay* and in the *Recherche*, and both books helped to form his *Principles*. If Locke taught him, Malebranche inspired him, and unless one takes the Berkeleian world of sense and spirit as 'in God,' as Malebranche saw all things 'in God,' the Berkeleian philosophy is nonsense.

How then are we to understand Berkeley's disclaimer in this letter? Malebranche's influence is one thing ; his philosophy is another thing. Berkeley did not adopt his philosophy, and could not do so. The two philosophies are 'plainly inconsistent . . . in the main points' ; Malebranche taught the existence of matter ; Berkeley denied it. Malebranche held representative ideas ; Berkeley did not. Malebranche denied the evidence of sense ; Berkeley affirmed it.

In the second of the *Three Dialogues ad med.* Berkeley discusses the relationship, and in the third edition (1734) he makes a striking addition which emphasizes the divergence ; but on careful examination it will be seen that in both editions Berkeley tacitly admits one far-reaching principle, held in common, viz. that in God 'we live and move and have our being.' Berkeley had good practical reasons for not wishing his debt to Malebranche stressed or over-stated, and he passes lightly over occasionalism, which was a further point of partial agreement and disagreement. Berkeley was not an occasionalist, but with the occasionalists he held the Pauline doctrine of the Divine operation, with the companion doctrines, that only spirits truly cause, and that all sensible things are entirely passive.

Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), monk of the Oratory, author of *De la Recherche de la Vérité* (1674–5) ; his philosophy, a development of Cartesianism, was distinguished by its occasionalism and by its doctrine of 'seeing all things in God.' John Norris (1657–1711), Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, Rector of Bemerton, author of *An Essay towards the Theory of an Ideal and Intelligible World* (1701–4), and other philosophical and devotional works. Arthur Collier (1680–1732), author of *Clavis Universalis* (1713), was Rector of the neighbouring parish of Langford Magna.

15 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 90

Berkeley is spending the Christmas vacation at Rathmore, Co. Meath, at the house of his pupil, Thomas Blithe (or Bligh), who entered Trinity College in November 1709 at the age of sixteen, and became a Lieutenant-General, serving as M.P. for Athboy from 1715 to 1775 ; for Blithe's visit to London and his marriage to the daughter of the Earl of Clarendon see Nos. 28, 29, 32, 36, 37.

The Provost at the time was Benjamin Pratt, who in June 1717 became Dean of Down ; he died 6 December 1721. Berkeley's mention of Langton, his school-friend, is interesting. Born at Kilkenny, and brought up near Thomastown, Berkeley entered Kilkenny College under Dr Hinton 17 July 1696, and was there till he went to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1700. The school, founded in 1538 by the eighth Earl of Ormonde, still stands at the bend of the river beneath the shadow of the great castle of the Ormondes. Swift, Congreve, Archbishop Magee, and many other famous men were educated there, including (in our own day) Admiral of the Fleet, Earl Beatty. Langton's tale of the Whig plot and the feeling aroused by his sermon on passive obedience should be read in the light of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715. Passive obedience was a Tory doctrine, disliked by the Whigs ; it was a doctrine of restricted allegiance, easily shading off into disloyalty to the existing régime ; it taught that a man can count himself loyal to the government he dislikes, provided he does not oppose it, and that he can consistently with loyalty disobey an order, provided he accepts the legal penalty for non-compliance. Berkeley preached three sermons on the subject in 1712, and published them as one treatise in that year. A Tory in Church matters, he stressed the divine authority of the supreme civil power ; a Hanoverian, loyal to the Protestant Succession, he skated lightly over the question of the limits of loyalty and of the fine line between passive obedience and disobedience.

Percival, as an Irish landlord was interested in promoting Irish trade and industry (see No. 20), and the progress of Dublin's printing and book trades would have his approval, even though the London booksellers suffered. Berkeley divided his favours between the two capitals ; his *Arithmetica* and the *Three Dialogues* were published in London, his *Theory of Vision* and *Principles* in Dublin, and some of the later works in both cities. He has persuaded Percival to read ' my Introduction ' (Rand spoils the passage by reading ' my production '), i.e. the Introduction to the *Principles*, which refutes abstract, general ideas.

16 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 95

On his return to Dublin from Rathmore Berkeley found Percival's letter of 28 December 1710 awaiting him ; the Earl (see Nos. 10, 12)

sent his thanks for the copy of the *Principles*, saying that ' you were an ingenious man and ought to be encouraged, but that he could not be convinced of the non-existence of matter.' Clarke and Whiston (see Nos. 7, 8, with notes) had received the letters Berkeley sent them, and Clarke had told Percival's friend that he did not wish to be drawn into correspondence. ' being it was so clear,' an old idiom ; we should now say *seeing* for *being*.

17 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 95

The postscript explains the first paragraph. Berkeley is trying now to draw the Earl of Pembroke (see No. 10n) into a discussion of the argument of the *Principles*. Instructions for sealing if sent by a servant's hand, or, alternatively, for suppression, appear to be missing where indicated in the text.

On Lambert and Archdeacon Percival and the Convocation case see Nos. 3 and 8. Several of the Synge family became bishops ; this one is identified by Percival's note *ad loc.* ' Edward Synge (1659–1741), son of Edward Synge, Bishop of Cork, now Archbishop of Tuam, 1736.'

Peter Browne (d. 1735), Provost 1699, Bishop of Cork and Ross 1710, was a copious writer on controversial issues ; he wrote on drinking in memory of the dead (King William), on the Eucharist, and on the theological questions raised by King's sermon (see No. 8n). His chief books were, *The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of Human Understanding*, 1728, and *Things Divine and Supernatural conceived by Analogy with Things Human*, 1733. To the latter work Browne added a long answer to Berkeley's criticisms in *Alciphron*, IV, 16–22. See No. 178 and *Theory of Vision Vindicated* . . . S. 6, where Berkeley styles Browne ' a modern well-meaning writer who . . . writes much of analogy without understanding it.'

The new Lord Chancellor (of Ireland) was Constantine Phipps, who was appointed in December 1710, knighted 1710 ; his high-Tory views brought him under suspicion of Jacobitism, and he was removed from office September 1714.

The Percivals returned to Dublin in the summer of 1711 ; see Percival's Journal (*EP*, vol. 234), ' On 10 Aug. 1711 I landed with my family at Dunleary after a narrow escape at sea. The man of war came safely into the harbour of Dublin about midnight, but endeavouring to land in the pinnace the darkness of the night made us mistake our course.'

18 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 96

The influential treatise by John Locke (1632–1704) *On Education* was published in 1693.

19 To PERCIVAL

EP, vol. 62, page 130, copy ; Proc. R.I. Acad., xlii, C 6, page 112

On the Island-Magee case—said to have been the last witchcraft trial in Ireland ; see *Irish Witchcraft and Demonology*, by St John D. Seymour, Dublin 1913, pp. 200 ff. Mrs Haltridge died in 1711 after some strange happenings ; after her death Miss Dunbar, a young girl, came to stay in the house, and was seized with fits ; witchcraft was suspected, and the Mayor of Carrickfergus issued writs for the arrest of Janet Mean, Jane Latimer, Margaret Mitchell, Catherine McCalmont, Janet Liston, Elizabeth Sellar, and Janet Carson ; they were brought to trial at Carrickfergus before Judges Upton and Macartney on 31 March 1711. Several ministers gave evidence, and Dr Tisdall who was present in Court made an abstract of the evidence. Upton summed up the evidence ; he thought the jury could not convict on the sole evidence of Miss Dunbar's visions, and that though the whole matter was preternatural, the accused could not really be in contact with the devil ; for they were diligent attenders at church. Macartney differed from his brother ; he thought the jury could convict—which they did ; the accused were sentenced to a year's imprisonment and to stand four times in the pillory.

William Tisdal (Tisdall), Fellow TCD 1696, D.D. 1707, held several northern benefices, Kerry and Ruavan 1706, Drumcree (Portadown) 1711, Belfast (Vicar) 1712 ; he was Swift's friend, but the friendship was interrupted when Tisdal told Swift that he was a suitor for Stella's hand.

Marmaduke Coghill (1673–1738), B.A. 1691, LL.D. 1695, Chanc. of the Exchequer (I), P.C., Judge of the Prerogative Court ; M.P. for Armagh (1692, 1703) and for Dublin University (1713, 1715, 1727). He is often mentioned in Swift's correspondence.

20 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 97

A draft copy of this letter bearing the same date is in the British Museum, Add. MS 39304, f. 104 verso ; published by me in *Hermathena*, xxii (1932), 41. The first half of the draft is much the same as the text ; but in place of the second half (from This affair . . .) the draft reads, ' Since the Judges came up to town men have talk'd variously of ye witches, it is said Judge Upton was for acquitting them and Judge Macartney & the jury for finding 'em guilty wch they accordingly did. I hear the afflicted woman is dead of her disorders. 'Tis a sign she did not feign. There was last assizes at Cork a man convicted of murder by means of an apparition. And there are severall other stories related with a wonderfull confidence that I know not how to believe, & therefore shall not trouble you wth any account of them untill I have ye happinesss of seeing you together with my

Lady ppercivale and yr young son safely arrived in this Kingdom. I wish you a prosperous voyage and am etc.'

On the Earl of Pembroke see No. 10n and No. 17. Percival, as an Irish landlord had nationalist leanings in his younger days, and strove to promote Irish trade and industry, and himself resided in Ireland often ; in later life he became the typical ' absentee landlord,' living altogether in England and drawing his rents through land agents. For his opposition to the proposed increase in the duty on Irish-spun wool see Journals of the House of Commons, xvi, 569. On Dan. Dering see No. 2n.

21 To LE CLERC

Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39304, ff. 76v–77v ; Th. Lorenz in ' Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie,' xvii (1904), 159–70, ' Zwei Briefe Berkeley's an Jean Leclerc.'

This letter and the next are both in draft, and we cannot be certain that they were sent ; but a long notice of the *Essay on Vision* appeared in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, xxii (1711), 58–88, and that looks as if the first letter, at least, had its effect.

Berkeley through his bookseller had sent Le Clerc a copy of his *Principles* ; he now asks for a review, or for a private letter pointing out his errors, saying that so far his books have received little notice outside Ireland.

Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) is mentioned in Berkeley's *Phil. Comm.*, Entries 177a, 348, cf. 812. Molyneux writing to Locke calls him ' one of the greatest scholars in Europe.' *Some Familiar Letters . . .* p. 186. He edited the *Bibliothèque Choisie* ; his numerous works include, *Logica sive ars ratiocinandi* (dedicated to Boyle), with *Ontologia et Pneumatologia* (dedicated to Locke), 1692, *Physica*, 1696, *Eloge de feu Mr Locke*, 1705.

22 To LE CLERC

Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39304, ff. 102v, 103v, 105v and 105r ; Th. Lorenz, with No. 21, q.v.

A digest of the *Essay on Vision* had appeared in the *Bibliothèque* between the dates of the two letters. Praising Berkeley's attack on geometrical explanations of vision, it censures his neglect of ' pure intellect,' and defends Locke's doctrine of abstract ideas. Berkeley here points out some misprints in the digest, maintains that ' pure intellect,' if there is such a faculty distinct from the imagination, is exclusively concerned with spiritual objects, and repeats his distinction between considering a quality separately and forming an abstract idea of it.

23 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 98

A happy and happily phrased letter, showing Berkeley's descriptive powers at their height. The Percivals reached Dublin from London in August 1711, and now with Mary Parker, Lady Percival's sister, they had gone south to Burton, their Co. Cork seat (see No. 2n), leaving their two children at Dunckarney (Donnycarney), a Dublin suburb on the north side, where Berkeley visited them. Percival had a house in Capel Street, a well-known Dublin city street. I have not traced Miss (' Mrs ' was not restricted to married women till later in the century) Donnellan ; but Christopher Donnellan, a friend of both Swift and Berkeley, was elected Fellow of Trinity College in 1728. ' a flaming beauty lately come from England . . .', Hone and Rossi (*Bishop Berkeley*, p. 58n) have missed the point. The ' flaming beauty ' is no *flame* of Berkeley's, but some girl friend of the little boy, and Berkeley, more than half in jest, tells the parents and aunt to come back quickly, or they will lose his love. Hence the playful opening of No. 24.

24 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 100

A further description of the Percival children, and an intimation that Berkeley and Dering propose to visit Burton. College term would be over about the end of June, and from the next letter it is clear that they spent July and the first part of August at Burton, meeting bad weather (cf. No. 34). ' over the water,' i.e. on the north side of the river Liffey ; cf. No. 175, ' on the other side the water.'

25 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 102

The Flanders fighting and foreign policy make their first appearance in Berkeley's correspondence, and here we meet Ormonde and Bolingbroke, and shall soon meet other great architects of events in the critical period before the death of Anne. The two main issues at stake in both foreign and domestic affairs stand out more and more clearly as the months go by in Berkeley's letters and in Percival's replies. They are vividly expressed in the title of G. M. Trevelyan's book, *The Peace and the Protestant Succession*, and I will quote from its Preface (p. ix) a few pithy words that draw in outline the general picture. ' The statesmen who negotiated the Treaty of Utrecht in so doing entangled themselves in a close intimacy with the French ministers through the medium of French Jacobite agents, and became correspondingly hostile to Holland and the German princes, including George of Hanover. The question of the Peace and the question

of the Protestant Succession became closely intervolved. The Whigs denounced the Peace and stood up for the Succession ; the Tories defended the Peace, and in so doing half of them were drawn to desire a Jacobite Restoration. They assumed that James would pleasure them by turning Anglican. He refused. . . .'

James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde (1665–1745), took the part of William and Mary, was attainted by James II, fought at the battle of the Boyne, secured Dublin and took Kilkenny Castle ; he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1703–5 and 1710–11. In April 1712 he was sent to command in Flanders. Retiring from the allied front, he seized Ghent and Bruges as pledges of the good behaviour of the Dutch. He became the leader of the Jacobites (see Nos. 49n, 57, 58 and No. 52 for an account of his trial), was impeached, attainted, and his estates forfeited, 1715 ; he lived in France and Spain, but was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Arnold van Keppel, 1st Earl of Albemarle (1669–1718), came over with William and Mary, governor of Tournay 1709. He was William's companion and confidant. After William's death he returned to Holland, but fought with the allies. In 1712 after Ormonde left the front he was in command at the battle of Denain, where he was defeated and made prisoner.

Law is a bottomless pit, or the History of John Bull appeared in successive parts in 1712, the 4th part being *Lewis Baboon turned honest* and *John Bull politician.* This work stereotyped the name *John Bull* ; it is attributed to John Arbuthnot (1667–1735, see *DNB*), F.R.S., son of a Scottish clergyman ; he qualified as a doctor and settled in London, where he had a good practice among the great and learned ; member of the Brothers and Scriblerus clubs ; he wrote on medicine and theology. Physician to Queen Anne, 1705, he attended Swift, Pope and Berkeley (see No. 35). Pope wrote of him,

> Friend to my life, which did not you prolong,
> The world had wanted many an idle song.

Berkeley claimed him as a convert to immaterialism.

Saint-John Henry, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751), philosopher, statesman and man of letters, went to Paris in 1712 to make final arrangements for the Treaty of Utrecht, negotiated with the Pretender, lost office on the accession of George I, impeached and attainted 1714, fled to France where he drafted the Pretender's Declaration ; the priests struck out his clause which promised security to the Church of England ; in 1716 he was dismissed from the Pretender's service, was pardoned, and returned to London, but fell out with Walpole. A close friend of Pope, he influenced the *Essay on Man* ; he wrote *The Patriot King*, 1738 ; his works in five volumes were published posthumously by Mallet.

Matthew Prior (1664–1721), poet and diplomat ; went to Paris in 1711 to negotiate peace ; the Treaty was known as ' Matt's peace.' Plenipotentiary at Paris, where Berkeley met him in 1713 (see No. 39) ; he was recalled after Anne's death and (1715) imprisoned.

Felster's shop was a massive building on the S.W. corner of Lower Abbey St., Dublin, built in the early days of Queen Anne by George Felster, a wealthy merchant, who later turned it into a Bacchanalian Club ; see James Collins, *Life in old Dublin*, Dublin 1913. The burning alive of two malefactors is almost incredible ; for they presumably were in the hands of the law. Berkeley was always loyal to the Protestant Succession, but this reference to the ' glorious and immortal ' memory is without a parallel in his writings.

' Robin ' is presumably his brother Robert (1698–1787), then aged twelve ; he entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1717 and was elected Fellow in 1724 ; he was Rector of Midleton from 1741 and became Treasurer of Cloyne and Vicar-general of the diocese ; he furnished Stock with a memoir on his brother's life.

Mr Brereton was one of Percival's land agents. He and members of his family are often mentioned in the Egmont Papers.

26 To AN ENGLISHMAN

Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39306, ff. 16–17, defective ; in Berkeley's handwriting, but not signed ; Fraser (LL, p. 50n) published the greater part of it

An Englishman had written to consult Berkeley on the morality of a separate peace. After the Tory victory of 1710 ' our allies became our enemies and our great enemy our ally ' (G. M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne*, III, 90). The union with Hanover was in prospect ; people were war-weary, and were casting about for reasons for making peace with France. The letter is thus roughly dated, but the last paragraph, especially the words ' some unexpected turn ' seem to echo the events of April 1711, when the Emperor Joseph died of smallpox, and was succeeded by his brother Charles, who already ruled Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, Hungary, Italy and Belgium. The addressee is not named ; one naturally thinks of Percival ; but would Berkeley address him as an Englishman ?

27 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 104

This letter from London marks a turning-point. So far Berkeley's letters have been personal for the most part, or doctrinaire ; now they broaden out and touch the realities of public life. At the age of twenty-eight, after five years on the staff of Trinity College, he left Ireland for the first time and made his way to London. He had already published four books and he had the MS of a fifth in his pocket. He went to benefit his health, to publish his book, and to improve his mind. He was away from Ireland for eight years, save for a brief visit in 1715, on Royal leave of absence. Originally he meant to be away for a few months only ; but the opportunity of a trip to Sicily offered, and, later, of the Grand Tour in Italy.

The Treaty of Utrecht, the closing months of Queen Anne's reign, her death, the hopes and fears of Whigs and Tories, the fortunes of Church and State hanging on a thread, the succession of George I, the Old Pretender's rebellion—it was an eventful period of history and a colourful period in Berkeley's life. He was at the height of his charm and his powers, and among the London wits he came and saw and conquered. At Court and in high society he moved with ease, meeting statesmen, ecclesiastics, and men of letters. His relatives, the Earl of Berkeley and Lord Berkeley of Stratton, the Earl of Pembroke, the Marlboroughs, Swift, Steele, Addison, Pope, Harley, Atterbury and Peterborough—we can meet them, sometimes on intimate terms, in the pages of his correspondence. And that breathless summer and autumn of the ' Fifteen ' come to life again in the seven letters that tell the story of events from 23 July to 17 November.

The port of Chester was still open, but Holyhead was beginning to capture the Dublin traffic. Mr Molyneux was, no doubt, Samuel Molyneux, on whom see No. 8n. Benjamin Pratt (see No. 15n) was admitted Provost 3 June 1710, and he seems to have spent much of his time in London ; for there was trouble between the College and the Government, in part the aftermath of the Forbes case (see No. 35n), and in part owing to the activities of the Chancellor, the Duke of Ormonde, who was elected in 1688, and was succeeded by the Prince of Wales on 27 February 1715. Addison had a paper on the subject in the *Freeholder*, No 33. On the inauguration of the Prince as Chancellor in April 1716 Pratt, attended by Berkeley and Howard, delivered an oration, which was parodied by Swift ; see his *Works* (Scott), XII, 354, and the *London Gazette* for 17 April. Messrs Clerke and Southwell were friends or relatives of Percival, living in London ; on the Earl of Pembroke see No. 10n.

Anthony Collins (1676–1729), deist, friend of Locke, writer on theology and politics, author of *Discourse of Free Thinking*, 1713 ; this book influenced Berkeley's life and thought ; for it was the chief target of the *Guardian's* attack on free-thinking, that Steele entrusted to Berkeley.

Sir Richard Steele (1672–1729), born in Dublin, M.P. for Stockridge 1713, cadet in the Life-guards and playwright, attacked the Government on the Dunkirk issue in 1713, and in 1714 issued ' The Crisis,' which Swift answered in ' The public spirit of the Whigs.' Steele was expelled from the House for seditious libel in 1714 ; was knighted by George I, and held various public posts ; he was supervisor of Drury Lane, where his last play *The Conscious Lovers* was produced in 1722. As essayist he left a lasting mark on British life and letters. ' While the red-coated grenadiers were playing their game of hide-and-seek with death in the charged chambers of Tournai and in the woodland alleys of Sars, the Londoners were eagerly buying and discussing a new wonder and delight, Steele's *Tatler*, born on April 12 (1709), and making its appearance every second week-day on a single unfolded sheet. Its influence, and that of the *Spectator* which grew out of it in two years' time, did more to launch

Eighteenth Century civilization on its characteristic course than all the blood shed at Malplaquet.' G. M. Trevelyan, *The Peace and the Protestant Succession*, p. 23. The *Spectator* expired on 6 December 1712, and in the following spring Steele projected the *Guardian*, which was designed to be cultural, but non-political, the spice of controversy being supplied by a sustained attack on religious unorthodoxy, viz. deism and free-thinking. He knew of Berkeley through his books, and was one of the first to welcome him on his arrival in London, and for a time there was a close friendship between them. According to Berkeley's widow (*Biog. Brit.*, 2nd ed., III, Corrigenda and Addenda) he never thought highly of Steele's ability or learning, but valued him as witty and good-natured ; but in No. 28 he speaks of him in warm terms. Berkeley contributed twelve articles to the *Guardian*, viz. Nos. 27, 35, 39, 49, 55, 62, 70, 77, 83, 88, 89 and 126, and is said to have received a guinea and a supper for each. When Steele on 7 August broke out into politics about Dunkirk, Berkeley ceased to contribute.

The *Examiner* was a Tory weekly, which for a time was influential. Swift wrote some powerful numbers against Marlborough and the leading Whigs between November 1710 and June 1711 ; William Oldisworth (1680–1734) edited vols. II, III, IV, V, and nineteen numbers of vol. VI.

Thomas Tickell (1686–1740), Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, Professor of Poetry, 1711, wrote a poem ' On the prospect of Peace ' ; he was under-secretary to Addison, and to the Lords Justices in Ireland, 1724 ; on his *Homer* see No. 50n.

On Charles Dering, Percival has the note ' eldest son of my uncle, Auditor-general of Ireland.' D'Aumont was one of the most ancient families of France ; this Duke was French ambassador in London after the Treaty of Utrecht.

William Herbert Powis, 2nd Marquis and titular Duke of Powis (d. 1745), a Roman Catholic suspected of complicity in the Fenwick Plot ; he sold his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields to the Duke of Newcastle in 1705 ; he was arrested as a Jacobite in 1715. Tobias Pullen, Bishop of Dromore 1695, was succeeded in 1713 by John Stearne.

28 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 107

On Bligh (Blithe) of Rathmore, Co. Westmeath, Berkeley's pupil, see No. 15n. From the next letter we see that both parties tried to make political capital out of his ball, and that, like Berkeley, he had friends in both camps. Berkeley had the philosopher's contempt for party spirit (see *Phil. Comm.*, Entry 608); but with Swift and many others he was inclined to associate Whig with dissent and Tory with Church. Trevelyan, op. cit., III, 89, writes, ' The Tories were divided between Jacobites, Hanoverians, and a large middle body of uncertain allegiance, attached by reason and patriotism to the Protestant Succession, but

by tradition and sentiment to the House of Stuart. The October Club was Jacobite when drunk and Hanoverian when sober.'

Peace negotiations had been going on behind the scenes for many months, and the Treaty of Utrecht between Great Britain and France took effect from 11 April 1713 (N.S.) and between Great Britain and Spain 14 July 1713 (N.S.).

James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick (1670–1734), natural son of James II and nephew of the Duke of Marlborough, born and educated in France, served in the Irish and other campaigns, created Marshall of France ; after the Treaty of Utrecht he supported the English alliance ; he was killed at the siege of Philipsbourg.

Sir Philip Parker, Lady Percival's brother, went to Dublin in August. Capel Street, i.e. Percival's Dublin house. On Steele and his literary ventures see No. 27n.

Joseph Addison (1672–1719), of Magdalen College, Oxford, writer and politician ; he accompanied Lord Wharton to Ireland as Chief Secretary, and ' Addison's Walk ' is still shown in the Glasnevin Botanical Gardens. A keen Whig, he attacked the *Examiner*, contributed to the *Tatler* and the *Guardian*, and helped to produce the *Spectator*. He was a member of the Kitcat Club, Commissioner of Appeals and Under-Secretary of State. Tickell's quarto edition of his *Works* contains a sketch of his career. His chief creation was Sir Roger de Coverley, a fine portrait of a Tory country gentleman.

29 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 109

On Bligh and his ball see Nos. 15, 28, and notes. The Cocoa-tree coffee-house is often mentioned in Swift's correspondence, see Ball's edition, vols. II, p. 399 ; VI, 52, 72, 89. Other well-known resorts of the London wits were Button's and Will's taverns. Dublin coffee-houses were the Free Mason (No. 103) and the Custom House (No. 104). The Queen created twelve Tory peers on 1 January 1712 in order to carry the Peace. On Steele and the *Guardian* see No. 27n.

Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) during this visit was at the height of his power, and was probably (though only the incumbent of Laracor) the most influential man in the three Kingdoms. He went to England in the summer of 1710, charged by the Irish bishops to secure the passage of the First-fruits Bill. He was appointed Dean of St Patrick's on 23 April 1713, and left London on 1 June and was installed Dean on 13 June 1713. He laid himself out to be of service to Berkeley (see his *Journal to Stella*, 12 April 1713) ; for their friendship and the Vanessa legacy see my *Life*, pp. 63–7, 87–92, 232–3 ; ' by chance,' i.e. without arrangement, as in No. 30 ; almost certainly they had met before in Dublin ; they came from the same school, and Swift was often in Trinity College on business.

Alexander Pope (1688–1744), friend and correspondent of both Swift and Berkeley, author of *Essay on Criticism*, 1711, the *Rape of the*

Lock, 1712, *Windsor Forest*, March 1713. He wrote the well-known lines (*Epilogue to the Satires*, Dial. II, 170) :

> Ev'n in a bishop I can spy desert,
> Secker is decent, Rundel has a heart ;
> Manners with candour are to Benson giv'n,
> To Berkeley ev'ry virtue under heav'n.

The following letters by Berkeley to Pope survive, Nos. 46, 50, 67.

30 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 111

Swift and Addison and Berkeley (Tory and Whig and neutral), breakfast together, and talk politics, and Addison and Berkeley talk philosophy. The Lord Treasurer, known as the ' white staff,' was head of the ministry, and in Anne's reign he was virtually Prime Minister. Since 29 May 1711 the office had been held by Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford (1661–1724). He communicated with the Pretender, as did almost all public men ; but he never became a Jacobite, like his colleague Bolingbroke.

Swift tells us he was ' caressed by both parties ' on his arrival in London in 1710 ; but the Whigs did nothing for him, while Harley treated him as a bosom friend ; hence the ' coldness ' between Swift on the one hand, and Addison and Steele on the other. Swift tried to do Steele a good turn, when the Whigs lost office ; he asked Harley not to deprive him of a small office he held (Commissioner of Stamps). Harley agreed on condition that Steele called and apologized. Addison (see No. 29n) dissuaded Steele from doing so. On Steele see No. 27n. For Dr Swift's ' wit ' Rand mistakenly reads ' will.' Berkeley here pays a notable tribute to Swift (see No. 29n), and there is little doubt that they were friends, and remained so. Swift had many enemies among the Church party. On the ' first night ' of *Cato* see No. 31.

Thomas Parnell (1679–1718), poet, born Dublin, B.A. TCD 1697, also B.D. and D.D., minor Canon of St Patrick's, Vicar of Finglas ; he wrote *Essay on the different styles of poetry*, and a poem on the Peace, both 1713.

31 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 112

The Succession crisis grows more and more acute, and no-one knows whom to trust, and party feeling intensifies. Here we meet three politicians, who played important parts—Argyll, Halifax and Lady Masham.

John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll (1678–1743), served with the army in Flanders 1702, Lieutenant-General 1709, hostile to Marlborough. Appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland 1712, he took

a leading part in the proclamation of George I in 1714, repulsed Mar at Sheriffmuir 1715, and crushed the revolt in the following year.

Charles Montagu, 1st Earl of Halifax (1661–1715), a financial genius, founder of the Bank of England, and originator of the National Debt ; Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Abigail, Lady Masham (d. 1734), cousin of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, with whom she lived ; employed by the Queen, she gradually ousted the Duchess from the royal favour ; through her Harley communicated with the Queen after his fall. She procured Harley's fall, and sided with Bolingbroke and the Jacobites. Trevelyan (op. cit., III, 42) calls her 'an adventuress, a listener at keyholes . . . with the key of the back-stairs.'

On Dan. Dering see No. 2n ; on Arbuthnot see No. 21n. Percival (18 July 1713) reported that Swift denied that Arbuthnot was a convert to immaterialism. Berkeley replied that Arbuthnot and he did not see eye to eye about the laws of nature, but that about material substance they were in full agreement. The 'Treatise' is the *Three Dialogues*, published in May 1713, 2nd edition 1725, 3rd edition appended to the *Principles* 1734.

Here is a vivid pen picture of the 'first night' of Addison's (see No. 28n) *Cato* on 14 April 1713 at Drury Lane ; it ran for several weeks and made a sensation by its lofty morality. In Tickell's edition *Cato* is introduced by eight laudatory poems, including one by Tickell and one by Steele. Pope's *Prologue* begins

> To wake the soul by tender strokes of art,
> To raise the genius and to mend the heart

and ends with an appeal for British plays,

> Our scene precariously subsists too long
> On French translation and Italian song.

What was the *hiss* for ? Was an allusion to Marlborough seen in the lines,

> Even when proud Caesar 'midst triumphal cars,
> The spoils of nations, and the pomp of wars,
> Ignobly vain and impotently great
> Show'd Rome her Cato's figure drawn in state.

Ann Oldfield (1683–1730), who played Marcia, Cato's daughter, acted at Drury Lane 1711–30, buried in Westminster Abbey.

32 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 115

In the previous letter Berkeley had reported a French project for importing 60,000 black cattle, mostly from Ireland. On Samuel Molyneux see Nos. 8 and 27 with notes ; on Bligh see No. 15n ; on

Mrs Oldfield and *Cato* see No. 31n. The message seems to imply that the Parkers were Whigs. The Treaty of Utrecht with France took effect on 11 April 1713, and it was regarded as a victory for the Tory party.

Sir Samuel Garth (1661–1719), physician and poet, knighted 1714, physician-in-ordinary to George I ; physician-general to the army, member of the Kitcat Club. According to Stock's *Life* Addison told Berkeley that Garth in his last illness refused the consolations of religion on the ground that Halley had convinced him that Christianity was an imposture.

When Berkeley left Ireland he intended to be away for a few months only, and the College gave him leave of absence (see College Register, 9 March and 11 May 1713). The College having no power to extend the leave, he was put to the trouble and expense of obtaining a Queen's Letter, which covered two years' absence. Then came the offer of the trip to Sicily ; he was out of Ireland for eight years (1713–21) save for a brief visit in 1715.

' A Lord of my name,' Lord Berkeley of Stratton, to whom Berkeley dedicated the *Three Dialogues*, ' to do honour to myself.' Swift introduced the two men at Court, telling the Earl that Berkeley was of his family and ' an honour to it ' (P. Delany, *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks*, p. 28, and G. Monck Berkeley's *Literary Relics*, p. liv). He is described as ' a *cadet* of the family of Earl Berkeley ' in the *Autobiography of Mary Granville*, 1, 319n. In Nos. 241, 242 he puts forward what almost amounts to a claim to be related to Earl Berkeley, and when Bishop of Cloyne he impaled the arms of Earl Berkeley of Berkeley Castle with those of Cloyne.

33 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 118

The political situation is further clouded by unrest in Scotland over the malt tax. The Duke of Argyll (see No. 31n), who was to take a decisive part on the death of the Queen in securing the accession of George fell out with the Court about the tax, arguing that it was a violation of the Act of Union. In the spring of 1713 a tax of 6d a bushel was voted on all British malt, though Scottish malt was cheaper and inferior, and though a clause of the Act of Union stipulated that there should be no tax on malt in Scotland ' during this present war.' The Treaty of Commerce, part of the Treaty of Utrecht, was a commercial agreement with France on which the Government were defeated on 18 June 1713. The Union between England and Scotland took place in 1707.

Percival's letter of 14 May from Dublin had spoken of the spread of Berkeley's ideas ; Addison had come over to him, and others were envying him the discovery and claiming it for themselves. In reply Berkeley sends him by Dan. Dering (see No. 2n) a copy of the *Three Dialogues*. He does not claim Addison as a convert (see No. 28),

though he regarded him as an able thinker. He here makes his only reference to Arthur Collier, the ' clergyman of Wiltshire,' Rector of Langford Magna, author of *Clavis Universalis*, 1713, which denies the existence of the external world. Collier may have read Berkeley's books, but he may equally well have come independently on immaterialism through his study of Malebranche. Collier's book is scholastic in thought and diction, and is far inferior to the *Principles*.

Two ecclesiastics now come on the scene, Atterbury and Smalridge, similar in career and in outlook, the former a Jacobite, the latter with leanings that way. Smalridge said, ' Atterbury goes before, and sets everything on fire ; I come after him with a bucket of water.'

Francis Atterbury (1662–1732), tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, Dean of Christ Church 1712, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster 1713 ; he opposed James II's attempt to impose Roman Catholicism ; in literary matters he tried to defend the genuineness of the *Epistles of Phalaris*, attacked by Bentley, and gave occasion for Swift's *Battle of the Books*. A keen controversialist, he came to be regarded as champion of the clergy against Erastian bishops. He wrote *Letters to a Convocation Man* (anon), and composed Sacheverell's defence before the House of Lords. He took part in the coronation of George I, but drifted into Jacobitism. Concerned in a plot (*c.*1722, see No. 82) to restore the Stuarts, he was tried before the House of Lords, deprived and exiled for life. His eulogy on Berkeley is well-known : ' Does my cousin answer your Lordship's expectations ? ' asked the Earl of Berkeley, and Atterbury replied, ' So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels till I saw this gentleman ' (J. Hughes, *Letters*, 1772, II, 2, 3).

George Smalridge (1663–1719) was at Lichfield Grammar School with Addison ; a scholar and tutor of Christ Church, Oxford. He was appointed Canon when Atterbury was made Dean (' The House would rather have had it the other way about,' Swift), and Dean when Atterbury was elevated to the Bench. He became Bishop of Bristol in 1714, retaining his Deanery. Steele (*Tatler*, Nos. 73, 114) spoke of Smalridge as ' abounding in that sort of virtue and knowledge which makes religion beautiful.'

34 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 121

Berkeley visited Oxford about the middle of June 1713, and stayed there for two months, and here gives a lively picture of the *Act* which brought the visitors there. The *Act* or Ceremony of Inception was the medieval name for the Commencements or Comitia at which degrees were conferred. Originally a semi-religious ceremony associated with Vesperiae ; by the eighteenth century it had become secularized, and the ' terrae filius ' or jester was accorded great licence ; it was fixed for the Monday next following 7 July ; see C. Mallet, *History of*

the University of Oxford, II, 325–6. The trip, no doubt, accounts for the gap in his contributions to the *Guardian* ; he resumed his pen with No. 126 (5 August) ; but that was his last number ; for on 7 August Steele broke into politics with an attack on the Government on the Dunkirk issue. In 1733 Berkeley seems to have had thoughts of re-visiting Oxford for the *Act*, but he did not do so (see Nos. 158, 196) ; and his second and final visit was in July 1752, when he went there to see his son settled into Christ Church, took a house in Holywell Street, and spent there the last five months of his life. On Smalridge see No. 33n ; on his visit to Burton see Nos. 2, 24.

35 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 123

In his letter from Dublin of 18 June Percival compliments Berkeley on the *Three Dialogues* ; he has read it carefully, approves its style, and is more than half convinced by its argument, adding that Swift denies that Arbuthnot is a convert (see No. 25n). He reports a College rumour that Berkeley did not intend to return, and he makes a brief comment on the Forbes case. Berkeley's reply speaks for itself, but one or two comments are called for.

His treatment of the objections to immaterialism in *Principles* SS. 34–84 is superb ; his keen dramatic sense, evidenced in his command of the dialogue *genre*, enabled him to enter into the thoughts and feelings of the other man. If there are other objections than those sixteen or so, it is hard to think of them, and Berkeley has stated them fairly and squarely, and has answered them clearly.

His unconcern about preferment was often noticed by the London wits. Swift called him ' the absolute philosopher ' in this regard. He never became ambitious or unduly fond of money, but as he grew older, he came to realize that a regard for self-interest is part of duty ; and when he returned to Ireland in 1721 he sought preferment, and took steps to secure the Deanery of Dromore, and, later, that of Derry.

Note ' my own country ' ; throughout life he speaks and acts as an Irishman (see *Phil. Comm.*, Entries 392–4, 398, written 1707–8 and Letter No. 236, written 1746) but naturally he was willing to make the best of both worlds. The phrase ' moderate Irish nationalism ' would express his life-long attitude, see *Querist passim*.

The Forbes case was a *cause célèbre*, which for years disturbed the College life and made the Irish Government suspect the loyalty of staff and students. Edward Forbes, M.A. of Aberdeen University, graduated B.A. (TCD) on 7 July 1705, and M.A. (TCD) on 10 July 1708. At the Proctor's Feast the day before the latter Commencements, the health of King William was proposed. Forbes refused to honour it, and satirically himself proposed ' the pious memory of Balf '—a notorious robber executed in Dublin. On 21 July 1708 he was publicly degraded from his degrees and expelled from the College ; see the College Register for the form of expulsion.

Questions of College law were mixed up with the question of loyalty. The Provost and Senior Fellows carried out the expulsion ; for they were the governing body of the College. Was their action legal ? Degrees were a University matter, not strictly a College matter, and the relation of Trinity College to Dublin University was less defined then even than now. In the doubt the Senate of the University took action in support of the Board of the College. The Senate met, the Vice-Chancellor, Bishop Ashe of Clogher, presiding ; King, the Archbishop of Dublin, was present as Visitor, and he was determined to stamp out Jacobitism ; the matter was debated, and the sentence of degradation was carried by 76 votes to 18. The matter did not end there ; for a further question was raised as to whether Masters of Arts were entitled to vote in the Senate. On 19 April 1711 the Masters moved to reverse the sentence of degradation, but the Vice-Chancellor refused to put the question. The issue was raised repeatedly at subsequent meetings of the Senate, and the case became notorious on both sides of the Channel. See *A short account of the late proceedings against Forbes* . . . quoted in E. H. Alton, *Some fragments of College history* (repr. from *Hermathena*, LVII, LVIII, 159).

36 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 125

Returning to London after his two months visit to Oxford, he finds town empty. His pupil, Bligh (see No. 15n) has married Theodosia, daughter of Edward Hyde (1661–1724), M.P. for Wilts 1685–7, 1689–1695, and later 3rd Earl of Clarendon. Berkeley thinks her (No. 37) 'the most airy young creature I ever saw ; she detests the thought of going to Ireland.' On Provost Pratt see No. 27n.

Up to the present Berkeley was on leave of absence from the College ; for longer leave royal permission was necessary, if he was to continue to hold his fellowship *in absentia*. The royal letters conveying this permission are preserved in the College Library ; each for a period of two years, and they bear dates 9 September 1713, 9 September 1715, 17 August 1717, 6 May 1719, 6 May 1721. Bolingbroke, Addison, and Carteret are among the signatories.

37 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 126

Percival still in Dublin had replied to No. 36 on 10 September. The dispute between the Government and the city of Dublin concerned the election of Lord Mayor. The Castle, led by Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor, tried to insist that the election should be from a panel of three names, Mason, Constantine, and Fownes. The Queen found in favour of the city, see *Journal of the Commons*, III, 1,009.

Steele (see No. 27n), after a political silence of some months, without

warning broke with the *Guardian's* previous policy on 7 August, and came out with a fierce attack on the Government with regard to the fortifications of Dunkirk (*Guardian*, No. 127). Berkeley, resolved to keep clear of party politics, at once ceased his contributions to the *Guardian.*

38 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 127

This letter marks a further stage in Berkeley's education by travel. He has had some ten months in England, most of that time being spent in a busy and excited London. Now he is to go farther afield, and see the Continent. He had intended to resume his work in Dublin after Christmas (see No. 37), but his good friend, Dean Swift, intervened, with the offer of a trip to Sicily (see No. 46, and Swift's inaccurate statement in his letter to Lord Carteret, quoted by Stock, ' I sent him Secretary and Chaplain to Sicily . . .').

He did not reach Sicily on this occasion. Leghorn was the most southerly point reached ; but in the late autumn of 1717 he and Ashe crossed to Sicily and remained there till towards the end of February, journeying ' per universam insulam ' (see No. 68).

Charles Mordaunt, 3rd Earl of Peterborough (1658–1735), diplomatist, admiral, general, and scholar of distinction ; Joint-Commander of the Expeditionary Force to Spain in 1705, he compelled the surrender of Barcelona. In 1713 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to Victor Amadaeus, the new King of Sicily, and plenipotentiary to all the Italian courts. His first duty was to attend the coronation of the King, but the arrival of the equipage was delayed and it would seem that the only visit to Sicily that Peterborough paid was informal, and that, no doubt owing to the Queen's illness, the mission was cut short. On 12 January 1711 he had received the formal thanks of the House for ' his many great and eminent services.' Like many other politicians he had evidently taken out an insurance at St Germain, and in August 1715 he retired from England with the ' King's Pass.'

39 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 128

Berkeley was some ten months out of England on this his first visit to the Continent. At this point his letters to Prior begin, and from this on for the greater part of his life the Berkeley correspondence with both Prior and Percival survives. Note that directly he goes to the Continent he adopts the reformed style of dating, using it at the head of the letter and in the body of the letter. An Act of Parliament of 1751 prescribed that ' Wednesday the first of January next will begin the year 1752, and the day immediately following the 2nd of September next is not to be called the 3rd, but the 14th of September for this one year, 1752.' On the Continent the change had been made

in 1582. Thus Berkeley's journey from London to Paris took nominally 23 days (25 Oct. O.S. to 17 Nov. N.S.), but actually 12 days. Of the 'very narrow escape' more is said in No. 40. The stages of the journey from London to Leghorn are listed in No. 45; between Calais and Paris the stages were Boulogne, Montreuil, Abbeville, Poix, Beauvais.

Martin Martin (d. 1719), author of *Voyage to St. Kilda*, 1698, and *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, 1703, see *DNB*.

On Matthew Prior see No. 25. Berkeley mentioned his Dublin namesake to him (No. 40). For the impoverished and discontented state of France see Nos. 44, 45. For the reputation of James II as a saint, and the reputed miracles see Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, I, 221.

Nicolas Malebranche; see note on No. 14 for an account of his influence on Berkeley. It has been affirmed and denied that the two philosophers met, and the question is of some interest. Stock's *Life* says that at the time of his second tour, when passing through Paris, he called on Malebranche and discussed philosophy—'The issue of the debate proved tragical to poor Malebranche. In the heat of disputation he raised his voice so high, and gave way so freely to the natural impetuosity of a man of parts and a Frenchman, that he brought on himself a violent increase of his disorder, which carried him off a few days after.' Malebranche was an occasionalist, and the story gave rise to the *bon mot* that Berkeley did not kill Malebranche, but was the occasional cause of his death. De Quincey humorously elaborates the theme in his *Murder Considered as one of the Fine Arts*.

There are certain weaknesses in Stock's story (e.g. Malebranche had been dead for a year when in the autumn of 1716 Berkeley on his second tour passed through Paris), but it is not likely to have been completely without foundation, and in my opinion they met at the time of this letter. Put together the statements in Nos. 39 and 40. On 24 November Berkeley states that he is to be introduced to Malebranche on that day; on the following day he states that on 26 November he intends to visit Malebranche, and 'discourse him on certain points.' That evidence points to meetings both on the 24th and the 26th; for Berkeley could hardly have made the positive assertion that he was going to discuss 'certain points,' unless they had already met and agreed to a further discussion.

40 To PRIOR

Stock, page xxix; LR, page 74

Sir John Rawdon was son of the first baronet, Sir George Rawdon (1604–84) who sat in the Irish Parliament as M.P. for Belfast (1639), fought under Monck in the Irish Rebellion, and promoted the Restoration. Sir John Rawdon married Helena, daughter of Sir John Percival (*RBP*, p. 14).

See No. 39n for the author of the *Voyage to St. Kilda*, for Malebranche, and the state of France; on Matthew Prior see No. 25n.

41 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 130

Lord Peterborough joined his party at Paris, and went by sea to Genoa from Toulon. Berkeley elected to go overland and, after a short stay at Lyons, he set out, complete with furred gloves and furred bag, in company with General Oglethorpe and Colonel Du Hamel, who were charged with a letter to King Victor's mother at Turin. They were to cross the Alps in mid-winter, and meet their chief at Genoa.

Theophilus Oglethorpe (*c.*1682–*c.*1727), M.P. 1708–13, A.D.C. to the Duke of Ormonde 1712, was in the Earl's retinue on the embassy to Sicily. Later he became a Jacobite envoy and received a titular Jacobite barony, which on his death passed to his brother James Edward (1696–1785). The latter was Chairman of a Committee of the House (1729) on debtors' prisons. Percival was a member, and the Georgia Charter was an outcome of the Committee's work. The Georgia scheme received £10,000 from the St Christopher's money, out of which the Bermuda scheme was to have been financed, and the two schemes may have clashed to some extent ; at any rate they were thought of together (see Oglethorpe's long letter to Berkeley, *RBP*, pp. 275–9). The Wesleys, John and Charles, were associated with Oglethorpe in the Georgia undertaking.

William Domvile (Domville) of Loughlinstown House, which he inherited from his grandfather, Attorney-General of Ireland, was a friend and correspondent of Swift, see Ball's edition of the letters, I, 145n.

42 To PRIOR

Stock, page xxx ; LR, page 77

A vivid description of ' riding post ' through Savoy in winter and crossing Mount Cenis in open chairs. Berkeley was now inured to hardship, and he repeated the same perilous passage two years later, see No. 62. On the Rawdons see No. 40n.

43 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 131

That Lord Peterborough (see No. 38n) was much in the public eye can be gathered from the newspapers ; e.g. the *Dublin Gazette*, No. 976, for 16 February 1714, which reports his arrival at Genoa. A *felucca* is a coasting vessel.

44 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 133

Leghorn held a large English trading colony with a consulate and a resident Chaplain, Basil Kennet, author of *Romae Antiquae notitia*, London 1696. Two of Berkeley's extant sermons (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39306, ff. 26, 75) are marked ' preached at Leghorne.' Stock records that at Leghorn a procession of priests blessing houses against rats and mice was mistaken by Berkeley for a visitation from the Inquisition.

The political troubles in Dublin, shadows of the coming Jacobite rebellion, centred on Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, a high Tory, suspected of Jacobitism, who spoke for Dr Sacheverell at the trial ; an attack on him for bribery is recorded in the *Dublin Gazette*, No. 961, for 26 December 1713 ; he was removed from office in September 1714. Percival had spoken jestingly about taking refuge in the Mascarenes, the old collective title (cf. No. 55) for Mauritius, Réunion, and Rodriguez, islands in the Indian Ocean, named from their Portuguese discoverer Mascarenhas.

Atticus was relative, friend, and correspondent of Cicero. Thomas Lindsay, appointed Bishop of Raphoe in 1713, was translated to Armagh in December of the same year.

45 To PRIOR

Stock, page xxxii ; LR, page 80

On the Rawdons see No. 40n ; for another account of the winter crossing of Mount Cenis see No. 42. Robert Digby, correspondent of Pope, appears in Swift's letters. Mr French may be Matthew French who was elected Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1699 and died 12 March 1714, or Matthew French, Junior, one year senior to Berkeley in College, mentioned in *Phil. Comm.*, Entry 569.

46 To POPE

Stock, page xxxiii ; the last four lines appear in ' Biographia Britannica,' 1766, suppl. art. ' Berkeley '

On Pope see No. 29n. *The Rape of the Lock* ' with additions ' came out 2 March 1714 ; the first draft had appeared in Lintot's *Miscellany* in 1712. Swift, friend of both Pope and Berkeley, had recommended Berkeley to the Earl of Peterborough (see No. 38n).

47 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 136

While waiting for the Earl, Berkeley had toured some of the cities of northern Italy, and as there seemed little chance of getting to Sicily his thoughts were turning homeward.

For three centuries the history of Florence was bound up with the fortunes of the Medici family. At the time of Berkeley's visit Cosimo III (1642–1723) was Grand Duke ; his eldest son, Ferdinand, died childless in 1713 ; his other son Giovanno Gastone died in 1737, and thus the younger branch of the Medicis came to an end.

48 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 138

Berkeley writes from Paris on his way back home. He reached England in August 1714 after the Queen's death, which occurred 1 August.

Robert Molesworth (1656–1725), the first Viscount, was born in Dublin, and educated at Trinity College ; a supporter of William and Mary, he lost his estates under James II, but recovered them after the battle of the Boyne. M.P. for Dublin in the Irish Parliament, he wrote *Considerations for the Promoting of Agriculture*, 1723. Swift dedicated to him the fifth Drapier Letter. He was a friend of Molyneux and Toland. His eldest son was John (1679–1726), probably the ' Mr Molesworth ' of this letter, who went on several diplomatic missions, and was envoy to the Duke of Tuscany in 1710.

49 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 139

At this point there is a gap in the correspondence of nearly a year ; no doubt the two friends were together in London for much of the period. Note the ' My Lord ' ; for on 21 April 1715 Percival was created Baron Percival of Burton, Co. Cork in the peerage of Ireland. Berkeley meant to return to College as soon as his leave was up (September 1715, see No. 52), but probably the uncertainty in public affairs during that anxious autumn decided him to apply for a further two years' leave. His letters vividly reflect that uncertainty.

Charles Talbot, 12th Earl and only Duke of Shrewsbury (1660–1718) had an eventful career ; he had been a Roman Catholic and became a Protestant, and remained so in spite of rumours to the contrary. He took an active part in bringing William and Mary to the throne, and into his hand the Queen gave the White Staff of office at her last council on 30 July 1714. Yet he was suspected of Jacobite intrigue. For a time he was Secretary of State, but exchanged

the post for that of Lord Chamberlain in 1699; he held that post on and off under William and Anne and George; for a time he retired from politics and lived on the Continent; he was at once 'timorous and sagacious'; he joined the Tories in 1713, but assisted in the accession of George and loyally supported him. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland September 1713 (see *Dublin Gazette*, No. 955, for 5 December 1713).

Berkeley's 'little address' was his anonymous publication, *Advice to the Tories who have taken the Oaths*. Percival mentions it in his *Journal* seventeen years later, and told the Bishop of London about it as proof of his fitness for a bishopric and of his loyalty to the house of Hanover. It is a rare tract, recently identified by Lorenz, and it did not find its way into the editions of the *Works* till the present edition, see vol. VI, p. 53. Printed in London in 1715 by Baldwin of Amen Corner, price 3d, it consists of 23 pages octavo. Berkeley reminds the Tories that they are bound by solemn oaths to be loyal to the house of Hanover, and that to break those oaths is a blow aimed at Church and Commonwealth. The tract ends with a recital of the actual oaths.

The reference to Dublin University is explained by the College Register for 1715. The Duke of Ormonde, whose trial is described in No. 52, had been Chancellor of the University since 1688, and was succeeded in that office by the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II, in February 1715. The change reflected the excited state of Dublin and the College. On 12 March 1715 the statue of King William in College Green was defaced (*Dublin Gazette*, No. 1086). On 8 April Crump was expelled for insulting the memory of Charles I, and several other students admonished. On 31 May, Brown, Connor and Fitzgerald were admonished for reading *Nero Secundus*, and a declaration of loyalty was affixed to the Front Gate. On 27 June, Gunning, Bingley and Parkison were expelled for speaking against the King.

The statutory examinations for Fellowship and Scholarship had been held, and the Provost and Senior Fellows were to meet to elect on Trinity Monday, 13 June, but the Lords Justices in the King's name forbade them to do so. A dignified protest was sent on 12 July, but not till the following April was the stop removed. The incident illustrates the unrest in Ireland and the nervousness of the Government, and bears out Berkeley's comment that the Government were in effect punishing a loyal university for 'the extravagances and crimes of a few young lads.'

50 To POPE

Reprinted by Fraser (LL, p. 72) apparently from 'Biog. Brit.,' 1766, art. 'Berkeley.'

Pope's translation of the *Iliad* (cf. No. 67) appeared in instalments over the period 1715–20; it held a high place for over a century in spite of Bentley's remark about it, 'a pretty poem, but not Homer.' About the same time appeared the translation of Thomas Tickell (see

No. 27n). Tickell claimed that he was not in competition with Pope, but the latter was aggrieved and fell out with Addison for the latter's support of Tickell.

51 To PERCIVAL

EP, twice copied by Percival ; RBP, page 140

A lively picture of the unrest in the west of England. Flaxley is a village of Gloucestershire, to which Berkeley returned ten years later, see No. 98 which was written there. Who were the friends he found so entertaining ? Gloucester was held for the Parliament at the siege, but had a strong Church tradition. Bromingham—the old pronunciation of Birmingham, long noted for its small arms. On Dr Sacheverell see No. 3n. Berkeley speaks almost sympathetically of the Tory position. The meeting-houses were built after the Act of Toleration of 1689, and after the Sacheverell trial they became objects of attack.

52 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 142

Political tension mounts, and Jacobite leaders show their hands. No. 51 was answered by Percival from Dublin on 2 August in a serious vein, and he almost rebukes Berkeley for his Tory leanings when the Pretender is at the gates.

The Ormonde trial had a great interest for Berkeley ; he had been to school under the shadow of the Ormonde castle at Kilkenny, and the Duke, like his grandfather, had been Chancellor of Dublin University (see No. 49n). Ormonde was popular in England, and in 1712 he succeeded Marlborough as Captain-General in Flanders, his task under Bolingbroke's ' Restraining Orders ' being virtually to keep the British army inactive, and so force the allies to make peace. See No. 25n.

Thomas Butler, Viscount Ikerrin (1683–1720), graduated TCD (LL.D.), took Holy Orders, and was Chaplain-General to the army in Flanders.

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1609–74), confidential adviser to Charles I and Charles II, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford ; author of the *History of the Rebellion.* He became unpopular, and Charles II wanted him to leave the country, but would not command him to do so, or grant him the ' King's Pass.' Threatened with impeachment he left England 29 November 1667. The other parallel to Ormonde's flight is apparently that of Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby (1573–1644), who killed Henry Long in a duel, escaped to France in 1594, and was pardoned in 1598. The Earl of Peterborough (see No. 38n), as Berkeley implies, left the country for political reasons.

The Riot Act of 1715 increased the powers of magistrates to deal with unlawful assemblies.

The Highgate cobbler, known as George, led a riotous mob on the anniversary of the Restoration—for which he was whipped. See *The Flying Post*, 14–16 July 1715 (No. 3671), Brit. Mus. Burney Collection, 174. ' Last Thursday a cobler was try'd at the Quarter Sessions . . . convicted for being the principal ring-leader of a riot at Highgate, on the 30th of May last, the day after the Restoration of King Charles II. It was fully prov'd that he then insulted several gentlemen and ladies, demanding money for a bonfire in memory of the Restoration, and for liquer to drink to the damnation of the whigs and dissenters.'

Spencer Cowper (Cooper, 1669–1727), of an eminent Whig family, assisted at the impeachment of Sacheverell, M.P. 1705, 1708, 1711 ; in 1714 he became Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales, and in 1717 Chief Justice of Chester ; he was grandfather of William Cowper, the poet. William Bromley, M.P. for Oxford University, Speaker, Secretary of State (1713), a Hanoverian Tory or ' tacker.' Lord Islay was brother of the Duke of Argyll (see No. 31).

James Graham, 4th Marquis and first Duke (2nd creation) of Montrose (d. 1742), promoter of the Union, President of the Council, Privy-Seal (Scotland) 1709–13, 1716–33, Secretary of State for Scotland 1714–15.

Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford (1661–1724), with Shrewsbury brought about the fall of the Whigs in 1710, and governed the country with Bolingbroke till 1714 when the latter ousted him. He was Lord Treasurer in 1711, when his life was attempted by Guiscard. He procured the dismissal of Marlborough, and carried through the Treaty of Utrecht. His impeachment was mooted in 1717.

On Berkeley's intention to return to Dublin see No. 49n ; he was co-opted Senior Fellow on 13 July 1717, and on his return to Ireland in 1721 he took his full share in the government of the College. On Bligh (Blithe) and his marriage see Nos. 15, 36, 37.

53 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 145

The death of Louis XIV after a reign of seventy-two years deprived the Pretender for a time of French support ; the Duke of Orleans became Regent, and would succeed to the Crown if Louis XV died without issue. John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair (1673–1747), aide-de-camp to Marlborough, was ambassador at Paris in 1715 and through his energetic action secured the expulsion of the Pretender from Paris ; he fought at Dettingen, and was Commander-in-chief (south) in 1744.

John Erskine, 6th or 11th Earl of Mar (1675–1732), Secretary of State for Scotland 1713, dismissed 1714, set up the Pretender's standard at Braemar 1715 ; he projected an attack on Edinburgh, but was foiled by Argyll ; he escaped with the Pretender to Gravelines (see No. 69).

Sir William Wyndham (1687–1740), M.P. for Somerset 1710, Secretary at War 1712, Chancellor of the Exchequer 1713–14, ally of

Bolingbroke, arrested for complicity 1715, but not put on trial, married the daughter of the Duke of Somerset (see No. 57n).

Sir Thomas Hanmer (1677–1746), M.P. for Flint 1701, Speaker 1714–15, a high-church Tory, who accompanied Ormonde to France in 1712. 'Montalto' in the *Dunciad*, he published a big edition of Shakespeare 1743–4; he appears in Percival's Journal (*RBP*, p. 288), and on 14 April 1733 Berkeley married Mr Hanmer to Percival's daughter Katherine. See No. 220 addressed to him—'his great merit was loving his country, his great weakness was loving the parsons,' Hervey.

54 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 146

A graphic picture of London life on the eve of the Pretender's landing —'the general ferment,' the rumours, the uncertainty, Jacobite plots, and Government counter-measures. They are tampering with the troops, and Berkeley overhears a secret agent discussing hereditary right with a sentry in St James' Park. See No. 53 for the turn in French policy after the death of Louis XIV.

John Gordon, 15th or 16th Earl of Sutherland (1660?–1733) served in Flanders under William III; a Scottish representative peer, he served as President of the Board of Trade (1715) and Lieutenant of the North.

John Ker, 5th Earl and 1st Duke of Roxburgh (d. 1741), Secretary of State for Scotland 1704, Keeper of the Privy Seal 1714, Lord-Lieutenant of Roxburgh and Selkirk 1714, fought at Sheriffmuir.

The Bishop of Bristol was Smalridge, see No. 33n; on the Duke of Argyll see No. 31n.

55 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 148

Things are going none too well, and reports from Scotland are disquieting. In August Mar raised his standard in the Highlands; on 3 September James was proclaimed King at Braemar; the Battle of Sheriffmuir (13 November) was represented in France as a Jacobite victory, and on 22 December James sailed and landed at Peterhead on Christmas day, escaping from Scotland 4 February 1716; see Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy*, 1939, p. 144 ff. Berkeley is distressed by 'the general bent of the people' towards Jacobitism, the dissensions of the Whigs, and the disloyalty of the Tories.

The first Barrier Treaty (1709) was the price paid by the Whigs for the continued support of the Dutch. The Dutch were to garrison the chief towns of the Spanish Netherlands, and in return were pledged to fight for the Protestant Succession in England. 6,000 Dutch troops landed in England in 1715, and they were needed; for in November Argyll had only 3,500 men to meet Mar's 10,000. The jealousy between Marlborough and Argyll began in Flanders, and there was no thought

of using Marlborough in the field against the rebels. On the Duke of Berwick see No. 28n. On the Mascarenes see No. 44n.

George Granville, Baron Lansdowne, Secretary at War 1710, and George Hay, Lord Duplin, son-in-law of the Earl of Oxford, were two of the twelve peers created by Anne at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht.

Edward Villiers, Earl of Jersey, in August 1710 opened backstairs negotiations with France through the Abbé Gualtier, Torcy's secret agent ; see G. M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne*, III, 176.

56 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 150

Berkeley's hopes rise for the time being ; the preparedness of the Court, the discovery of a conspiracy and arrest of the conspirators calm his fears. The French Regent is not helping the Pretender who has not left Bar-le-duc.

Charles Townshend, 2nd Viscount (1674–1738), Secretary of State for the North, Walpole's brother-in-law, and leading member of the Ministry. He discovered the value of turnips as winter feeding for stock. In December 1716 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but he only held office for a few months and did not cross the sea.

Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham (1647–1730), a ' whimsical,' i.e. a Hanoverian Tory ; he lost office after the Rebellion. He wrote in answer to Whiston's doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

On Wyndham see No. 53n ; on the Bishop of Rochester see No. 33n ; on Lords Duplin and Lansdowne see No. 55 ; on the Duke of Orleans and Lord Stair see No. 53.

57 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 151

The clouds return ; the rebellion gains support in Northumberland ; the Dutch forces cannot arrive in time. Berkeley thinks semi-seriously of migrating to the Mascarenes (see Nos. 44n, 55) ; he is also thinking of ' something in England,' i.e. a living in the gift of the Earl of Peterborough (see No. 58).

Richard Hamilton (fl. 1688), a relation of the Duke of Ormonde, fought for James at the battle of the Boyne. Ormonde (see Nos. 25n, 52, 58) made two attempts to land on the coast of Devon. On Lansdowne and Wyndham see Nos. 53, 55.

Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset, ' the proud Duke ' (1662–1748), loyal supporter of King William ; he joined Harley's party, and on the death of Anne was prominent in securing the accession of George. Appointed Master of the Horse, but he was dismissed in consequence of his annoyance when he was refused permission to go bail for Wyndham, his son-in-law.

58 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 153

The crisis has passed ; a fortnight has made a world of difference ; the Rebellion shows signs of collapse. Ormonde (see Nos. 25n, 52, 57) has returned to France, and Mar is making no headway. Berkeley writing ten days before the battles of Preston and Sheriffmuir shows himself very well-informed. On Lord Peterborough see Nos. 38n, 52.

There were two brothers, Freind, both well known and both friends of Berkeley—John, the physician and writer to whom Berkeley sent from Italy the account of the tarantula, and Robert, headmaster of Westminster School which Berkeley visited to see the election of Kings' Scholars, subsequently writing an account for the *Guardian*. No doubt it was Robert that won the prize. Rand reads £2,000, but the *Historical MSS Commission Report*, App. 7, p. 240 reads £20,000.

59 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 154

It is the beginning of the end. Forster with four to five thousand men pushed south to Preston in Lancashire, where on 13 November he was defeated by Generals Wills and Carpenter, and his force captured or dispersed. On the same day at Sheriffmuir in Scotland Argyll with much smaller forces than Mar's contained the rebels, and thus virtually crushed their hopes of ultimate success. On the Latin classics see No. 3.

60 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 155

In 1716 Nicholas Forster, Bishop of Killaloe, uncle of Berkeley's future wife, was translated to Raphoe, Edward Synge of Raphoe becoming Archbishop of Tuam. Charles Carr went to Killaloe, vacating St Paul's Church, Dublin. Berkeley judged a city parish 'consistent' with his College work. The Archbishop might well have judged otherwise. Berkeley did not get the parish, but it is of interest to note that eighteen years later he was consecrated in that Church and Bishops Forster and Carr assisted.

The Prince had recently been appointed Chancellor of Dublin University, and he presented Berkeley with a gold medal on the occasion (Mrs Thomson, *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon*, II, 165–78). The Prince knew of Berkeley through his Secretary, Samuel Molyneux, Berkeley's former pupil, and recommended him to Lord Galway for preferment. Lord Galway, hearing of his sermons on *Passive Obedience*, replied that he was a Jacobite ; but Molyneux produced a copy and proved to the Prince that it was the work of a loyalist (Stock's *Life*). The quarrel between the King and his son began very soon after the

accession, and perhaps the Prince's backing may not have been so strong a recommendation as Berkeley thinks it.

James Stanhope was Secretary of State (South 1714, North 1716, 1718) and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1717.

Venice was repeatedly at war with the Turks from 1499 onwards, and gradually lost her empire. By the Peace of Carlowitz (1698) Venice was recognized as mistress of the Morea ; the Turks won it back in 1716, and the Peace of Passarovitz (1718) saw the end of Venice as a great power. The Bishop of Worcester was William Lloyd (1627–1717), one of the seven bishops tried in 1688, and the reference here is to the scheme of prophecy which he expounded.

61 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 156

The Earl of Sunderland was appointed Lord Lieutenant in September 1714, but he did not cross to Ireland, and in 1715 the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Galway were sent over as Lords Justices to manage Irish affairs. The Duke of Grafton was appointed Lord Lieutenant in June 1720, and meeting Berkeley through the Percivals, he promised him preferment, and placed, first, the Deanery of Dromore, and, later, that of Derry at his service. Berkeley had used his pen in the Hanoverian interest by his sermons in the College Chapel published as *Passive Obedience* (1712), and by his anonymous tract, *Advice to the Tories* . . . (see No. 49n). Of the offer he had refused, nothing is known, unless it was the living in the gift of the Earl of Peterborough, see Nos. 57–8, and cf. Nos. 49, 52 for the Earl's ' disgrace.'

Percival did what he was asked to do, and wrote a warm letter of recommendation to the Duke of Grafton, see *RBP*, p. 158.

62 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 159

The six months' gap in the correspondence represents, no doubt, the meeting of the two friends in London. When the correspondence is resumed, Berkeley is once again on the Continent, destined to be there for the best part of four years. He had paid a short visit to Dublin in February 1715, and he had intended to return there in 1716. In April 1716 he had waited on the Prince of Wales in London, with Provost Pratt and Howard, when the Prince accepted the office of Chancellor of Dublin University. Later in that summer came his disappointment about St Paul's, Dublin, which may have decided him to accept the attractive offer by Bishop Ashe of a travelling tutorship in charge of his son, an invalid, who proposed to tour in Italy. The travellers were accompanied by a servant and had unlimited letters of credit. Some ten letters have survived and four travel diaries, which enable us to picture the first year of the tour in considerable detail, especially the

tour of Apulia, the stay at Rome and at Naples, and the visit to the island of Ischia.

They must have left London in October 1716 and, passing through France, Berkeley crossed the Alps in mid-winter for the second time, and here they are on 24 November at Turin.

The ease and speed with which Continental travel was resumed after the rebellion are noteworthy. Even war disturbed little in those days the normal life of the generality. See No. 53 for the death of Louis XIV and the regency of the Duke of Orleans. On his first tour (Nos. 44, 45) Berkeley made similar observations on the state of France, and was similarly cautious in expressing them.

The Mardyke fortifications at Dunkirk, the base of French privateers, were to the English mind the symbol of French maritime power, and their destruction was a provision of the Treaty of Utrecht ; within three months from the signing the seaward works were to be destroyed, and the others three months later. From Dunkirk the Pretender sailed, and Dunkirk inflicted more damage on Britain than all the ports of France. On the Dunkirk issue Steele attacked (7 Aug. 1713) the Government with his *Guardian* article, headed ' Delenda est Carthago ' (see No. 34n), and a year later, in the *Crisis*, for which he was expelled from the House in 1714.

Young St George Ashe, for an invalid, seems to have been hardy and daring, and the picture of the two young men facing the Alpine wolf with pistol and sword is remarkable. Berkeley's first crossing of the Alps was slightly later in the season, and is vividly described in Nos. 41, 42. When the news of the death of Bishop Ashe came in the spring of 1718, the travellers proposed to return home, but Ashe received instructions to stay on. In the following spring, too, they made plans for return, but they were delayed for a twelvemonth, perhaps by Ashe's illness, and not till July 1720 did they start for home. Ashe died at Brussels in 1721 (see No. 76).

63 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 162

The travellers visited Parma and, apparently, the principal cities of northern Italy. They reached Rome early in January 1717, and were delayed there by the rigour of the season and the illness of their valet, leaving for Naples after 1 March. Berkeley's travel diaries—four notebooks now in the British Museum (Add. MSS 39307–10) —cover the period January 1717 to April 1718, and for part of the stay at Rome they are very full, recording the doings of the party morning and afternoon each day (7–25 January 1717). The diaries contain lively descriptions of St Peter's, the Vatican, churches, palaces, pictures and statues, and mention (Jan. 20 and 25) the musical entertainments provided by the Italian nobles (see No. 64). Ottoboni is mentioned in the diary at Rome for 12 January.

Berkeley's interest in painting remained for life, and his palace

at Cloyne was a home of fine arts, especially painting. In Italy he met the painter Smibert (No. 116n), who painted Berkeley several times and accompanied him to America.

The significance of the very detailed statistics about the Roman Catholics in England is political, the letter being written only twelve months after the failure of the Jacobite rebellion.

64 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 164

Planning to return home that spring, Berkeley and Ashe expected to miss seeing the Percivals, who were to visit Italy, see Nos. 65, 71. Vesuvius became active this April, and on the 17th Berkeley climbed the mountain and took observations from the edge of the crater ; he began an account of the eruption, and completed it on his return from Apulia ; it was communicated to the Royal Society by Dr Arbuthnot, and published in the *Transactions* (Oct. 1717, see vol. IV, p. 247). Percival had spent two years abroad, *c.*1705–7, visiting Germany, Holland and Venice ; he had seen a number of Italian cities, but not Naples. ' Naples disputes with Istanbul the claim of occupying the most beautiful site in Europe ' (*Encycl. Brit.*). The circuit of the bay is about thirty-five miles, or more if the islands of Ischia and Capri at the north-west and south entrances, respectively, are included. On the north-east shore Vesuvius rises from the wide flat, which is part of the fertile ' Campania felix.' A spur of the Apennines divides the bay of Naples from the bay of Salerno, and ends in the promontory of the Punta della Campanella (Minerva), four miles from Capri. The bay of Baiae (Horace, *Ep.*, I, 83) is a sheltered portion of the bay of Naples.

Capua, sixteen miles from Naples on the edge of the Campanian plain, was founded about 600 B.C. The citizens were well disposed towards Hannibal, who, to his cost, made it his winter quarters. It was captured by the Romans in 211 B.C., and destroyed by the Saracens in A.D. 840. In his travel diary Berkeley describes ancient and modern Capua and the government of the Kingdom of Naples (see vol. VII, pp. 267–8, 306–11).

65 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 166

The remarkable tour, here referred to, from Naples to Lecce and Taranto and back to Naples *via* Venosa, is described day by day (15 May–9 June) in the diary (see vol. VII, pp. 267–303). The district had then a bad reputation for bandits and raiding Turks, and if the young men's wish to leave the beaten track is not a sufficient motive for the tour, perhaps tarantism is part of the account. Taranto, the most southerly and most distant city visited, gave its name to the tarantula, the venomous spider, whose bite was supposed to cause

various maladies, decline, convulsions and madness ; dance and music were popularly regarded as cures. The medical profession in England was interested in the problem, and to Dr John Freind (see No. 58n), author of *History of Physick* . . . (1725–6), Berkeley sent from Italy an account of the tarantula, no doubt taken from the copious notes on the subject contained in the diaries.

The ' five fair cities . . . of white marble ' seen in one day were Barletta, Trani, Biseglia, Giovanasso and Bari, all on the Adriatic seaboard.

With the tribute to Lecce cf. the diary for 27 May, ' gusto in the meanest houses . . . incredible profusion of ornaments . . . nothing in my travels more amazing than the infinite profusion of alto-relievo, and that so well done ; there is not surely the like rich architecture in the world . . . not a spout or supporter to the balustrade or balcony, but wrought in the grotesque figure of some animal, or otherwise carved . . . remains of the spirit and elegant genius of the Greeks who formerly inhabited these parts.' Along with the diary of the Apulian tour should be read *George Berkeley in Apulia* (Boston 1946) by Alice Brayton, a sympathetic, well-informed commentary, with beautiful illustrations. Lecce is twenty-four miles south-east of Brindisi, ' rich in buildings of the 17th century in rococco style ' (*Encycl. Brit.*). On Vesuvius see No. 64n.

66 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 168

Inarime or Pithecusa (island of apes), now called Ischia, is an island sixteen miles south-west of Naples, and seven miles south-west of Capo Miseno at the western extremity of the Gulf of Naples. Occupied by Greek settlers, it was abandoned about 500 B.C. owing to an earthquake. Earthquakes occurred there in 1881 and 1883, for which see *Monograph of the Earthquake of Ischia* by H. J. Johnston-Lewis, London–Naples 1885, where Plate III shows Testaccio as a town in the centre of the southern coastline. Berkeley wrote a similar account of the island to Pope (No. 67), and his diary (vol. VII, pp. 312–25) gives a factual account, with notes on local dress, customs, religion, government, and on the medicinal baths and sudatories. He took the facts, he says, in large part from the writings of Giulio Jasolino and Joannes Elysius.

67 To POPE

' Biog. Brit.' 1766, suppl. art. ' Berkeley ' ; Stock, page xxxv ; LR, page 92

A similar description of the island is given to Percival in No. 66. The promontory of Minerva is the classical name for Punta della Campanella ; Parthenope is the old name for Naples (Neapolis). On Pope's *Homer* see No. 50n ; note ' being to visit,' the old idiom for ' having to visit.'

Antonio-Maria Salvini, Italian *littérateur* (1653–1729); a native of Florence he studied law at the University of Florence, and became Professor of Greek there.

68 To CAMPAILLA

Preface to Campailla's 'L'Adamo, ovvero il Mondo Creato' (1728); RBP, page 26, where see note in Italian

D. Thomas Campailla (1668–1740), Italian priest, naturalist, and philosopher, born at Modica in Sicily, studied law, adopted the Cartesian philosophy, and devoted himself to the natural sciences, and to medicine; author of *Discorso del moto degli animali* (1709–10), but principally known for his philosophical poem, *L'Adamo, ovvero il mondo creato* (1709; Rand has 1728). He had shown attention to Berkeley, and had given him copies of his works to be distributed in London. Berkeley tells him how to communicate with the Royal Society, and undertakes to send him a copy of Newton's *Principia* (1685) on his return. 'D. D. Portem' looks like a corruption. Cf. No. 87 for the discharge of Berkeley's undertaking.

J. Warton, *Essay on Pope* (1782), II, 201, wrote of Berkeley, 'He went over Apulia and Calabria, and even travelled on foot through Sicily, and drew up an account of that very classical ground which was lost in a voyage to Naples.'

69 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 170

Between this and No. 70 there must have been a letter by Berkeley which went astray, as Berkeley suspected. Percival wrote to Berkeley on 13 March 1718 (see *Hermathena*, XXIII, (1933), 28), reporting the death of Bishop Ashe, the building of his own house, and the birth of a daughter. Berkeley had not received this letter when he wrote No. 69, but had received it when he wrote No. 70, in which he refers to the house-building, but not to the birth.

Note the account of the Holy Week gathering at Rome, and the rival groups from Britain, loyalists in one coffee-house, Jacobites in another; on Lord Mar see No. 53.

The conflicting ambitions of the Emperor and King Philip of Spain as regards Italy had long menaced the peace of Europe. Stanhope tried to reconcile them, and in August 1718 he brought about the *Quadruple Alliance*, the Dutch being considered a party to it, though it was arranged without their consent. Don Carlos was to have the reversion of Parma and Tuscany; the Emperor was to surrender Sardinia to Victor Amadeus (see No. 38n), and to receive Sicily in exchange.

70 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 171

Bishop Ashe of Derry died 27 February 1718, and on receipt of the bad news the travellers proposed to return immediately, but young Ashe was advised from home not to do so. Percival at this time was building his country house at Charlton, near Greenwich. Berkeley's knowledge of architecture brought him the friendship of the Earl of Burlington, and Speaker Conolly consulted him about the design of his great house, Castletown, (see No. 125n) still standing, at Celbridge. On the Earl of Pembroke see No. 10n.

Giovanni di' Medici (1475–1521), Pope Leo X, excommunicated Luther in 1521 ; a politician and patron of learning and art, he made Rome the centre of European culture ; he established a Greek printing-press there, and his first book printed in Greek appeared in 1515.

71 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 173

A letter from Percival to his cousin dated from Paris, 9 August 1718, is in the *Egmont Papers*, vol. 64, p. 490.

The Pretender's visit to Rome decided the travellers to leave Rome for Venice with the intention, probably, of wintering there and returning home in the following spring. Something upset their plans, perhaps Ashe's illness, and they did not start for home till July 1720.

Who was his friend with ' an excellent genius for painting ' ? It might have been John Smibert (see No. 116n), whom Berkeley first met in Italy, who painted Berkeley three, if not four, times, and accompanied him to America (see *DNB*).

On the busts from Florence which miscarried see No. 2n.

72 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 175

This, the only extant letter from Florence, and the last from the Continent, is taken up mainly with details of Berkeley's purchases of ornaments and curiosities for his friend.

The ' medals ' were coins which the collectors of the day regarded rather as specimens of art—' heads '—than as ancient currency ; they were almost exclusively interested in the obverse, the portrait side, and laid great stress on serial order and size.

The *serie mezana*, or middle series, refers, no doubt, to the time order. Berkeley has secured a set (fifty originals and twelve ' copies,' i.e. eighteenth-century imitations) of Roman Empire coins, dating from the period between the early period of Republican coins and

the late period of coins from Gallienus to the fall of the Western Empire. This intermediate period would be, artistically, superior to the other two. 'Blind' heads means, apparently, heads defaced or in a bad state of preservation. Collectors preferred the larger denominations because the heads would be bigger.

The South Sea Bubble, here referred to, left a deep impression on Berkeley's mind, and helped to turn his more serious thoughts to the distant west. See his *An Essay towards preventing the Ruine of Great Britain* (1721). In January 1720 Sunderland, the First Lord of the Treasury, received a proposal from the South Sea Company to take over the National Debt, then standing at £51,000,000. Parliament accepted the proposal. The company expected to recoup itself by the rise in the value of its shares, and by increase in its trade, and was not disappointed. The shares rose from 150 per cent in January to 1,000 per cent in August. An epidemic of gambling fever followed, and Berkeley's 'general scramble for the wealth of the nation.' Hundreds of auxiliary schemes were floated. By September the bottom fell out of the market; panic ensued, and thousands were ruined. The political result was that Walpole succeeded Sunderland, to govern England for the next twenty-one years.

73 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 178

The long gap in the correspondence means, no doubt, that the two friends were much together in London, supervising the building and decoration of Charlton. We left Berkeley in Florence in July 1720 on the point of starting for home, and here he is in Dublin in October 1721. Ashe may have stayed on the Continent; for he died at Brussels in 1721. Berkeley reached London in the late autumn of 1720, and early in 1721 he published his Latin tract *De motu* which, it is said, he wrote at Lyons on his way back, a prize for an essay on motion having been offered by the French Royal Academy of Sciences. In London he resumed former friendships, and we find him in touch with Dr Arbuthnot, Bishop Atterbury and Pope, at his Twickenham 'Tusculum.'

At this time through the Earl of Burlington he met the Duke of Grafton who after some years as Lord Justice was sworn in as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in August 1721. The Duchess was a friend of Lady Percival. The Duke promised Berkeley preferment, and he went to Dublin in September 1721, and resumed his academic life till on 4 May 1724 he received his patent for the Deanery of Derry. During the interval occurred the incident of the Deanery of Dromore.

Dromore, a northern diocese, now united with Connor, was till recently united with Down and Connor. The Deanery, a sinecure, worth £500 a year, fell vacant in 1721 and Berkeley applied for it, and after some delay received his patent for it on 16 February 1722; but in the meantime the Bishop had put in his nominee, Henry Leslie,

and the net result was that Berkeley had to take legal action, and fight the case for the Crown. The case does not seem to have come up for hearing, but dragged on for years, and in the end it would seem that Berkeley himself doubted the justice of the royal claim, and that the Bishop's right was tacitly admitted ; at any rate in 1724 John Hamilton was appointed Dean, and in 1729 Samuel Hutchinson.

Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington and 4th Earl of Cork (1695–1753), architect and patron of letters ; ' Who plants like Bathurst, and who builds like Boyle ? ' (Gay.) In 1715 he was Lord Lieutenant of the West-Riding of York and Lord High Treasurer of Ireland ; he spent some years in Italy, and on his return he reconstructed Burlington House, Piccadilly, and undertook other architectural ventures. Pope introduced Berkeley to the Earl, and they became good friends ; see No. 188, and Warton, *Essay on Pope* (1782), II, 200.

' Mr Fairfax ' is probably Charles Fairfax who came over as Chaplain to the Duke of Grafton, and succeeded Pratt as Dean of Down ; see Ball, *Swift's Correspondence*, III, 152n. See also No. 133 for Bryan Fairfax, an official of the Board of Commissioners, to whom Berkeley wrote about the duty on his library, shipped for America. For the debates about the bank see Nos. 74, 75. On Dr Arbuthnot see No. 25n. The ' Jesuits' bark ' is quinine, the bark of the cinchona tree or shrub, known to the Jesuits about 1630.

74 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 182

To this letter Percival replied 9 November (see *RBP*, p. 183) sending the paper for which Berkeley had asked. No doubt it was ' Some thoughts touching an Irish Bank,' which is in the *Egmont Papers*, vol. 65, pp. 159–70. This was a critical year in the history of Irish Banking ; see F. G. Hall, *The Bank of Ireland*, Dublin 1949, p. 5.

75 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 184

The Irish House of Commons was considering the establishment of a bank, and in support of the project Henry Maxwell, M.P., published *Reasons offered for erecting a Bank in Ireland* . . . arguing that the measure would reduce the rate of interest from 8 per cent to 5 per cent (Dublin 1721). His uncle, Hercules Rowley, replied with *An Answer to a Book intitled Reasons offered* . . . Dublin 1721. Both tracts are in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (RR. kk. 26, pp. 17, 40). Percival was in favour of the bank, provided it was not obliged to lend money to the Government, but by consent of Parliament. Berkeley on this occasion seems somewhat unconcerned, but when the project was revived some fifteen years later, he supported it wholeheartedly ; see his *Querist*, his letters to Prior (Nos. 179, 187), and his open letter to A. B. Esq. in the *Dublin Journal* for March 1737, signed ' The Querist.'

On the Duke of Grafton see No. 61n. Berkeley's appointment to make the Latin speech was a recognition of that facility in Latin composition that was his from youth to old age. He published two books in Latin ; he wrote letters and a travel log in Latin ; he wrote in Latin the inscription for a statue of King George I (see No. 81), the Wainwright epitaph in Chester Cathedral, and the inscription for the Prior monument in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.

76 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 186

The appointments to the vacancies which Berkeley mentions were as follows : In 1722 Josiah Hort succeeded Bartholomew Vigors as Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns. On 21 February 1722 Charles Fairfax (see No. 73n) succeeded Benjamin Pratt as Dean of Down. On 16 February 1722 Thomas Bindon succeeded G. W. Storey as Dean of Limerick. On 21 March 1722 Robert Carleton was instituted Dean of Cork in succession to Rowland Davies. On St George Ashe, Berkeley's pupil and companion on his Continental tour, see No. 62n.

77 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 187

Berkeley was addressed as Dean, and his name appears along with Leslie's on the official list of the Deans of Dromore, but he was never, it would seem, installed as such, or paid. He was put in to fight the case for the Crown, and after energetic preliminary steps he left the lists, and seems to have come round to the view that the Bishop of Dromore (Ralph Lambert, see No. 3n) had right on his side. A similar dispute about title and patronage occurred in the case of the Deanery of St Patrick's on the death of Swift.

78 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 188

79 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 189

Peter Drelincourt, Dean of Armagh, died in 1722 and was succeeded by Richard Daniel, who resigned in 1731. On the Concordation Fund see Ball, *Swift's Correspondence*, v, 310 ; and ib. III, 152 for Edward Hopkins, an English Parliamentarian who came to Ireland as Chief Secretary to the Duke of Grafton, and became representative for Dublin University. Appointed Master of the Revels in Ireland for life, he was ridiculed by Swift in his *Epilogue to Mr. Hoppy's Benefit Night at Smock Alley.*

80 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 192

On 27 March Percival wrote (*RBP*, p. 191) that he had seen the Duke, who said that Berkeley would get money out of the Concordation Fund, as he needed it, but that the Chantership must go elsewhere. Percival added that the Archbishop of Dublin was not Berkeley's friend and said ' he did not know you.'

The numbers of lawyers engaged seems high. The ' civilian ' had special training in ecclesiastical cases ; for an account of their work and their organization in Doctors' Commons, see Sir William Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, IV, 235–7, and XII, 605–702. *Quare Impedit* is a writ for the recovery of an advowson, or other presentation of a clerk to a church, where another by a Presentation hinders his clerk from being instituted upon his Presentation, or where one that has no right procures his clerk admitted, i.e. instituted ; in such case the true patron may have this writ to remove the Incumbent, and to have his clerk admitted ; ib. III, 25, 100, and Booth's *Real Actions*, p. 225. Berkeley has clearly lost hope of this deanery. Charlton is Percival's new house near Greenwich.

81 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 193

William Conolly (*c.*1660–1729), attorney and landowner, M.P., acquired large properties by marriage and purchase, and became one of the wealthiest men in Ireland. ' No one person has a personal influence equal to his '—the Duke of Grafton. The College gave him an LL.D. (*speciali gratia*) in 1718. A strong Hanoverian, he was Chief Commissioner of the Irish Revenue, one of the Lords Justices, and Speaker, 1715. His house Castletown is thus described in *The Georgian Society* (1909–13), V, 43 ff. ' This is a palatial mansion situated in a large demesne, close to the town of Celbridge, in Co. Kildare, and has the reputation of exceeding in size every house in Ireland ; it is certainly as far as our researches have revealed, the earliest stone building in the classic style. The hall is paved and very lofty, rising two stories, with a gallery on one side, while the scheme of decoration is in plaster panels and niches.' Berkeley's description is correct as far as it goes, but does not do justice to the two large colonnaded wings which are a striking feature of the front. The lower portion of the house is of limestone, but the main mass is of bastard marble from Ardbraccan, and after 230 years it shows no trace of decay or weathering.

The equestrian statue of King George I was set up on a lofty pedestal in the river Liffey, west of Essex Bridge ; it was approached by a passage guarded by two sentries. Swift (*Correspondence*, III, 139n) has this jesting allusion, ' at what time you hear the sound of tabret, harp, etc., be ready to worship the brazen image set up, or else be cast

into a cold watery furnace (the Liffey).' In 1753 Essex Bridge was rebuilt, and the statue was removed to Aungier Street, and in 1798 to the garden of the Mansion House. On Berkeley's Latin inscriptions, etc. see No. 75n. For the old ceremony of ' riding the fringes ' in Dublin see J. T. Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, 1, 190, ' The Ryding of the Fraunchescs and Liberties of the Citty of Dublin, according to the auncient custome . . . , (1603). The project for shortening the law-suit was evidently to make Leslie a bishop (No. 82). On Samuel Molyneux who had been, and perhaps still was, secretary to the Prince of Wales see No. 8n.

82 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 196

Percival replied on 5 August that he had read the letter and had sent it on to Mr Molyneux at Kew ; he thinks the expedient proposed reasonable and proper, and that the Duke ought to close with it, 'and thereby preserve the right of the Crown.' On Speaker Conolly and his house Castletown see No. 81n.

Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester (see No. 33n). He had been a good friend of Berkeley and Smalridge, and was ' the idol of the country clergy.' The birth of an heir to the Pretender had revived the hopes of the Jacobites, and led to a plot in which Atterbury was implicated. He was tried before the House of Lords, convicted and exiled for life. His condemnation, defective by strict rules of evidence, was substantially just, and was a great success for Walpole's policy. There were no further Jacobite plots in Walpole's day ; see Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy*, p. 174.

83 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 197

In 1722 Theophilus Bolton succeeded W. FitzGerald as Bishop of Clonfert. Swift in his letters has a reference to Bolton who was on the Chapter of St Patrick's. Now the Deanery of Derry is mentioned for the first time as a possible vacancy.

When Berkeley wrote, the great new Library, by Burgh, was in course of construction. It was begun in 1712, soon after Berkeley had held the post of Librarian, and was completed in 1732. The ' old and ruinous ' Library dates from *c.*1601 (see C. Maxwell, *History of Trinity College*, pp. 16 ff., 100, 168 ff.) ; was on the site of the present Theatre (Examination Hall) ; the two spiral staircases at the western end of the Long Room came from the old Library, and were erected there in 1651 by Henry Jones, later Bishop of Meath.

84 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 201

Percival had written (22 November) approving the ' hint ' about the Deanery of Derry, and suggesting that Lord Burlington or Lord Leinster should be asked to propose it to the Duke ; he himself could not do so, because the Duke was proposing him for a Viscountcy ; but come to London yourself—that is your best course—and press your suit in person. Berkeley crossed the sea (and gives a vivid picture of the rough and dangerous crossing).

Bermuda, the first reference, is probably the ' place within a thousand leagues.'

The ' Irish Prayer-book ' is not a prayer-book in the Irish language, but a Church of Ireland prayer-book in English. This copy was almost certainly the noble folio, printed by and for George Grierson at the Two Bibles in Essex Street, Dublin in 1721. It has as frontispiece, the *House of Prayer*, copied from the English prayer-book of 1662. A fine copy with tooled binding, that belonged to Claude Gilbert, can be seen in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. On early Dublin printing, and William Kearney the printer, see papers by E. R. Mc. C. Dix in *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, XXVIII, C 7, 8.

85 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 203

This is Berkeley's first statement about his Bermuda scheme, the great adventure of his life, a splendid failure that yet accomplished much. The main idea of it was ' a college in the west ' to promote religion and learning among the settlers and the Indians of America. This idea was quite practicable, and the College might well have been built, but for the unfortunate choice of Bermuda as the site. With this letter should be read Berkeley's *Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our foreign plantations, and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity*, 1724. A study of the scheme with a full account of the mission to America and an analysis of the reasons for its failure is contained in my *Life*, especially chapters 7, 8 and 9. The poets, especially Waller, had idealized Bermuda, and the public pictured it as a heaven on earth ; hence the ideal settlement projected. A number of English gentlemen of means were at first prepared to accompany Berkeley and settle near his College. Dan. Dering (No. 2n) wrote of it to Percival (*RBP*, p. 207), ' You will be surprised when you hear the company he has engaged to go with him. Young and old, learned and rich, all desirous of retiring to enjoy peace of mind and health of body, and of restoring the golden age in that corner of the world.' A plan of the settlement, drawn to scale, no doubt by Berkeley, is given in Stock's quarto edition (1784) of the *Works*, II, 419.

Amongst the 'attempts already made' was that of General Codrington (d. 1710), who left his estates in Barbadoes to found a College there.

Several of the Fellows of Trinity College were with Berkeley in the project; Robert Clayton (afterwards Bishop of Killala) was his second in command; William Thompson, Jonathan Rogers, and James King are named in the Charter. Others, including his friend Thomas Prior, had thoughts of going with him.

Percival replied to this letter and the next from Geronster on 30 June 1723. He calls the scheme 'noble,' and says that if favoured by the Court, it 'may in some time exalt your name beyond that of St Xavier'; but he warns that without Court approval his scheme would meet with difficulties from governors abroad and officials at home.

86 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 207

A legacy transferred from Swift to Berkeley brings the two great Irishmen together at crises in their respective careers. The incident has a dramatic quality; the windfall to Berkeley with his mind on the Bermuda scheme was a 'providential event,' enabling him to carry out that scheme.

Hester Van Homrigh (the usual spelling, to be pronounced, says Lord Orrery, Vanummery) was the Vanessa of Swift's story. On her mother's death, a property at Celbridge, twenty miles from Dublin, across the river from Castletown (see No. 81n), came to her, and she and her sister went thither in 1717. In 1721 she lost her sister, and soon after a quarrel with Swift about his alleged marriage with Stella she too died (on 3 June 1723). Her will dated 1 May 1723 names Berkeley and Robert Marshall of Clonmel as her executors and heirs (there were some minor legacies). It was a troublesome legacy, involving years of work and worry, but in the end Berkeley seems to have received some £3,000.

Stock says that Swift had often taken Berkeley to dine with the Van Homrighs in London, and no doubt the phrase 'perfect stranger' was not quite exact; but Berkeley was writing in great haste an hour before the funeral, and he could not be expected to remember all the young ladies he had met in London ten years or so back.

Subsequent letters to Prior on the business of the Vanessa estate are somewhat obscure, and the following particulars, taken mostly from Ball's *Correspondence of Dean Swift*, III, App. III, may assist the reader. Vanessa's father, who had been Lord Mayor of Dublin, left his estate in equal shares to his four children; the two sons died in early manhood. Bartholomew, the younger son, left a will dated 3 March 1714, bequeathing the residue of his estate to Provost Pratt and Peter Partinton, one of the executors of his father's will, and after the death of both of them to a son of Partinton on condition of his taking the name Van Homrigh. Vanessa had a lawsuit pending

against Peter Partinton, and Berkeley as executor had to continue the suit, and his letters often complain about it.

The Bermudas were popularly known as the Summer Islands because of the adventures of Sir George Somers, who was shipwrecked there in 1609. The Ulster King-at-arms was till recently the head of the Irish Office of Heraldry. William Hawkins (No. 1) was appointed to the office in 1698, and on 19 July 1722 his son, John, was associated with him.

87 To CAMPAILLA

Preface to Campailla's 'L'Adamo, ovvero il Mondo Creato' (1728); RBP, page 26

See No. 68, also to Campailla, which Berkeley wrote in 1718 to thank the poet-philosopher for his attentions, promising to distribute copies of Campailla's work in London and to send him a copy of Newton's *Principia*. He here reports that he has done what he promised to do.

88 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 211

Charlton was the Percivals' house near Greenwich. Percival had written on 30 June from Spa. On the legacy from Vanessa and the Partinton lawsuit see No. 86n. The Deanery of Down was considered the best in Ireland, worth £1,600 a year. It went to Charles Fairfax (see No. 73n).

The 'crowd of competitors' for the Deanery of Derry is described graphically by Philip Percival (*RBP*, p. 216): 'They certainly are good solicitors, and were you sometimes at the Castle [Dublin] it would make you laugh to see the whole piazza crowded to that degree that Dr Berkeley was ashamed to be seen among them, and used to retire to the garden. It was really comical to see long Northcote stalking, and little Shadwell waddling about whilst fat Dean Daniel was storming at Berkeley's having the Deanery of Derry. . . . He was inveighing bitterly one day in this manner to the Bishop of Fernes, who let him run on for about half an hour, and then whispered him in the ear, Berkeley will have it for all that, which made him rage ten times more.'

This is the first mention of a charter for the College, which was granted in the interval between the first and second editions of Berkeley's *A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches*. . . . The question of a charter was submitted by the Crown to the Law Officers in the spring of 1725. They made a favourable report, and the charter passed the seals, and was in Berkeley's hands early in June 1725; cf. the Postscript to the second (1725) edition of the *Proposal*.

89 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 217

The suspense is over at last. Nearly three years previously Berkeley returned to Trinity College with a promise of preferment from the Duke of Grafton ; and now he has received his patent for the Deanery of Derry ; the salary was below that of Down, but, for Berkeley, it was the best in the Kingdom, no doubt because it did not entail residence. The Crown's claim to appoint to Dromore had evidently been virtually abandoned.

The two College livings (see College Register) of Ardtrea and Arboe, worth £700 per annum, were vacant, and on 4 April Berkeley was presented to them, presumably *pro forma* ; on 16 April the presentation for this turn was transferred to the Lord Lieutenant, ' upon Dr Berkeley being made Dean of Derry.' Receiving his patent on 4 May, he went north at once to be installed and to take possession, and on 18 May he sent to the Provost his resignation of his Senior Fellowship, thus ending his eighteen years of association with the staff of Trinity College.

90 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 219

Note the dating from Elphin, a small cathedral town perched on a hilltop in Co. Roscommon. The little that is known of St Mary's Cathedral, Elphin can be found in *The Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland*, by Godfrey Day and Patton, where (p. 66) are quoted the lines by Swift, said to have been written of Elphin,

> Low church, high steeple,
> Dirty town, proud people.

Elphin is not on the direct Dublin–Derry road. Berkeley has made a detour to the west on his way back after his installation, and will return to Dublin *via* Strokestown and Longford.

Derry, ' the place of the oaks,' on the estuary of the Foyle, destroyed in 1608, was then colonized by the Irish Society of London, and incorporated in 1613 under the name Londonderry. King James invested the city on 18 April 1689, and it was relieved on 1 August. The London Society built St Columb's Cathedral (1629–33) in the style of the Jacobean gothic, a handsome and interesting building containing many relics of the famous siege. At the mouth of Lough Foyle stand basalt cliffs overlooking the Magilligan strand, and between Loughs Foyle and Swilly rise the mountains of the Inishowen peninsula. Berkeley held the Deanery for nearly ten years ; at the outset he intended to resign it in a year or two, as the last paragraph of this letter shows.

91 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 221

Berkeley's return to Dublin coincided with a noteworthy outburst of nationalist feeling that made Swift the hero of Ireland and the idol of Dublin. In 1722 a patent was given to William Wood, an Englishman, to provide a much-needed copper coinage. Wood was to pay £1,000 a year to the Crown for the privilege. By his famous Drapier Letters, masterpieces of the English language, Swift roused and united the whole country against Wood and his half-pennies, and the patent was surrendered. Percival, no lover of Swift and usually a firm supporter of the Government, wrote to his brother, Philip (*RBP*, p. 225), ' I can say nothing as to Wood's patent, who, I do believe, has ceased coining for the present, but I fear your intelligence that his mint is broken and materials sold is not true. Our last security will be a permanent resolution not to take his half pence. . . .'

Public enthusiasm for the Bermuda scheme was at its height about this time. Lord and Lady Percival are thinking seriously of joining the expedition, and on 6 February 1725 Percival wrote to his brother Philip (*RBP*, p. 223), ' It is, I think, a most commendable and rational scheme. . . . I have long been a favorer of it, and design to contribute £200.'

92 To PRIOR

Stock, pages xlii, lviii ; LR, page 98

Berkeley had now left Ireland, and London was his headquarters till he left for America ; he paid a short visit to Dublin in June 1728, and perhaps also in the summer of 1727. In the autumn of 1724 or early in 1725 he published in London his *A Proposal for the better supplying of churches in our foreign plantations, and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity.* The first edition bears the date 1724, but this may be ' Old Style ' ; for the *Miscellany* which came out in 1752, the year of the Calendar change in Britain, reprints the *Proposal* and dates it 1725. The *Proposal* is a persuasive document, which brought much support to the scheme. Swift refers to it in his fine letter to Lord Carteret of 3 September 1724. The letter is given in full in Stock's *Life*, and should be read both as a specimen of Swift's best epistolary style, and as a detached estimate of the Bermuda scheme. Swift writes for the most part in a light, satiric vein, saying, for instance, that Berkeley in the *Proposal* ' most exorbitantly proposeth a whole hundred pounds a year for himself,' but he concludes on a serious note, begging Lord Carteret either to persuade Berkeley to stay at home ' or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design, which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage.'

Robert (Robin) Berkeley, George's younger brother, had been elected to a fellowship in Trinity College six months previously. He

is often mentioned in the correspondence (see No. 25n), and he became the support of the Bishop's declining years at Cloyne. Of 'Bermuda Jones' I know nothing; on Partinton, whose suit with Vanessa was to delay the settlement of the estate, see No. 86n.

Henry Newman, of Harvard (see my *Life*, p. 110), became Secretary of the SPCK, and for a time he seems to have acted as London agent for the Bermuda scheme, conducting Berkeley's American business, writing to the principal men at Boston on its behalf, forwarding correspondence, parcels, etc. (see No. 143n).

93 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlii; LR, page 99

Van Homrigh, Sen., left his estate in equal shares to his four children; the question here is whether the jewels were part of his estate or of Vanessa's. Robert Marshal (Marshall) was Berkeley's co-executor and co-heir. Caldwell had thoughts of going to Bermuda, but died young (see Nos. 97, 105, 126). Jaques was probably the valet who fell ill (see No. 63n).

Edmund Gibson (1669–1748), Bishop, of Lincoln 1716, of London 1720–48, wrote on the Convocation controversy, and in 1713 he published *Codex Juris Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, still the highest authority on Church law. He was a friend and correspondent of Berkeley; he acted as trustee and overseer of the Bermuda scheme, and procured from Walpole the decisive message of recall. He subsequently advised on preferment for Berkeley. Berkeley sent him a copy of the *Analyst* and consulted him about services in Irish; see Gibson's autograph letter to Berkeley, published by Fraser (*LL*, p. 238).

The Bermuda scheme was submitted in the form of a Petition to the Law Officers, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General; and their Report, dated 15 March 1725, after a few criticisms certifies 'that we are of opinion that the design mentioned in the said Petition may be of a very useful tendency and fit to receive your Majesty's royal encouragement, and that your Majesty may by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain lawfully erect in the islands of Bermuda such a college as is described in the Petition.' Petition and Report were found by Dr Chart in the Record Office, and were published by me in *Hermathena*, XXIII (1933). The Secretary of State for the Plantations was one of the trustees and overseers of the Scheme.

94 To PRIOR

Stock, page xliii; LR, page 101

Messrs Wogan and Aspinwall were the London solicitors for Vanessa's estate. Prior acted in Dublin in a semi-professional capacity. Berkeley often complains in this rather dull portion of the correspondence of Prior's dilatoriness and of obstruction from Marshall, his co-executor.

Sir Peter King (1669–1734), nephew of John Locke, became Lord Chancellor on 1 June 1725. He was one of the trustees of the Bermuda scheme ; he assisted at the trial of Sacheverell, and defended Whiston at his trial for heresy ; King was author of *An Enquiry into the constitution . . . of the primitive Church*, 1691, and of *History of the Apostles' Creed*, 1702. For Recepi (*LR*) Stock reads Recipe.

95 To PRIOR

Stock, page xliii ; LR, page 102

Doctors' Commons, formerly the name of a society of ecclesiastical lawyers in London, a distinct branch of the profession concerned with the practice of civil and canon law. In 1567 some members purchased a site near St Paul's and erected houses for judges and advocates ; these were burnt down in the Great Fire and were rebuilt in 1672. In 1768 the members were incorporate by Royal Charter under the title, The College of Doctors of Law exercent in the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts. . . . In 1857 the college was dissolved and the ecclesiastical courts were opened to the whole bar.

Messrs McManus were a Derry firm of solicitors concerned with the farming of the Deanery glebe. On the charter see No. 88n.

96 To PRIOR

Stock, page lviii ; LR, page 104

Berkeley held South Sea stock to the value of £880 which required several consents, if it was to be realized. Marshall who had long made a difficulty about the payment of Vanessa's London debts is to be pressed to allow this money to be used for the purpose. ' Prat ' is Provost Benjamin Pratt to whom, with Peter Partinton, Vanessa's brother Bartholomew bequeathed the residue of his estate, and after their death to Partinton's son who was to take the name Van Homrigh. On McManus see No. 95n. Alderman Pearson, a brewer, of Dublin was Swift's tenant and executor with Partinton of Lord Mayor Van Homrigh ; see Ball, *Correspondence of Dean Swift*, III, 419, 456.

97 To PRIOR

Stock, page xliii (only the postscript) ; LR, page 108

Berkeley uses the prospective payment of the South Sea stock as a lever to obtain Marshall's consent to the payment of the English debts, and is prepared to encourage the creditors to attach the payments, if he proves obdurate. The urgency is due to the bright prospects of the Bermuda scheme. Evidently he has found out about the lands at St Kitts, and has interested the Court ; four or five months later (No. 105) he writes, ' I am in a fair way of having a very noble endow-

ment for the College of Bermuda. . . . I have gained the consent of the Government.' On Robin see Nos. 25n, 92 ; on Caldwell see No. 93n.

98 To PRIOR

Stock, page lix, date 16 Oct. ; LR, page 111, date 15 Oct.

Continued pressure for the consents. Marshall was unwilling to consent because he thought that the debts were not Vanessa's, but Vanessa's mother's. The difficulty with Partinton was the unsettled (still unsettled *c.*1741, see No. 197) case instituted by Vanessa against Partinton as executor of her father's estate. Berkeley urges arbitration. Van Homrigh Partinton was Partinton's son who under the will was to take the name Van Homrigh ; the comma inserted (*LR*) between the two names is a mistake.

This letter is written from Flaxley, Glos., where Berkeley had friends ; from Flaxley ten years previously (No. 51) he had written a graphic account of the west-country riots on the eve of the Jacobite rising. In his ' ramble through England ' he had toured eight or nine counties in east and west ; for in October Newman reports that Berkeley had gone to Norfolk ; this was probably the occasion of his two days' visit to Cambridge (see *Hermathena*, XXIII, 43).

His brother Robert (see No. 25n) receives several drafts at this period, no doubt in connection with the sad case of his brother Thomas (No. 117n).

99 To PRIOR

Stock, page lx ; LR, page 114

This group of letters is concerned with the details of Vanessa's estate, see No. 86n ; on Alderman Pearson see No. 96n. Marshall was co-executor with Berkeley of Vanessa's will, and Partinton was executor of her brother's will. On his ' long ramble ' see No. 98n.

100 To PRIOR

Stock, page lx ; LR, page 116

The political tension on the Continent was growing and a fall in the value of the South Sea stock was expected ; also the Bermuda scheme was likely to come before Parliament soon. Hence Berkeley's anxiety to finish the business of the estate, to pay the debtors, to realize his legacy, and to be free to leave for Bermuda.

101 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 226

The Percivals had been in Paris for some months, and proposed to stay there till the spring, and then to travel eastwards before returning home. Percival had sent Berkeley a Christmas present, ' the impressions of some seals in the French King's collection,' (*RBP*, p. 227). Berkeley's return present of the coffee cure is of some interest in view of his study of the principles of therapy that was to lead in later life to his advocacy of tar-water. The Bishop of St Asaph's was John Wynne who held the see 1715–27. On Berkeley's ramble through eight or nine counties so far apart as Norfolk and Goucestershire see No. 98n. The King's frequent and long visits to Hanover caused trouble, delay, and even public danger, see Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy*, p. 39, and cf. No. 107.

The financial response to Berkeley's *Proposal* amounted to £5,000–£6,000, which could hardly be called good. ' The Island ' must be Bermuda, not Ireland ; his earlier plan was to start for Bermuda in the spring of 1726.

102 To PRIOR

Stock, page lx ; LR, page 118

At last Prior has sent answers to the queries repeatedly put to him by Berkeley. Pearson is willing to renounce any title to the stock ; Marshall will not act, and Berkeley will pay the English debts without waiting for his approval. For the business of the estate see No. 86n.

Colonel McCausland (Maccasland) had acted as agent for the Derry lands, but does not wish to continue to do so (No. 105). On the payments to Robert Berkeley see No. 98n.

Edward Synge (see No. 167), Fellow TCD 1710 ; resigned on the College living of Cappagh becoming vacant 22 June 1719 ; Chancellor of St Patrick's and Rector of St Werbergh's, Dublin ; Bishop of Clonfert 1730, of Cloyne 1732, of Ferns 1734, of Elphin 1740 ; he died in 1762. He was a close friend of Berkeley, and seems to have acted as his banker on occasions, see No. 114. On Berkeley's death Synge wrote a letter of condolence, now in the Berkeley Papers ; he says, ' It will always give me pleasure to be considered as your good father's friend. I have been so these forty three years, with exquisite pleasure and great advantage to myself. . . .' Mr Stanton may have been the lawyer who did legal work for Swift about this time.

103 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxi ; LR, page 122

Here is Berkeley wearied (*v.l.* worried) to death by the creditors of the Vanessa estate ; he is at the end of his patience and writes to ' dear

Tom' with brutal frankness. After nearly three years they are no nearer a settlement with Partinton, and he is still trying to stave off the importunities of the London creditors.

The only important thing in the letter is the passage about his bedchamber and the closet, broken into by Prior, and the Vanessa papers. What were these papers, and where were they stored? I cannot answer either question, but I have assembled the following facts that may enable others to do so.

It was nearly two years since Berkeley had resigned his fellowship, and it is not likely that he would have been allowed to retain his College Chambers, or that, if he had retained them, Prior would have been allowed to break into them. Could Prior have given his friend rooms in his own house? There is no hint of it elsewhere, and Berkeley speaks as if Prior had exceeded his duty. It looks as if Berkeley's parents, of whom we know little or nothing, were still alive in Dublin.

Vanessa and some of her 'papers' have long been famous. She was born *c.*1687; her mother was Hester Stone; her father was Bartholomew Van Homrigh, alderman of Dublin, Commissary-General of Ireland during the war; he took part in the relief of Derry, and was M.P. for Derry; in 1697 he was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin, and he procured a gift to the city from the King of a collar and medal; he died in 1703; his children were Esther ('Vanessa'), Mary, Ginkell and Bartholomew. Mrs Van Homrigh moved to London in 1707, where Swift often visited the family. In 1711 Esther began to keep Swift's letters and copies of her own letters to him, and probably the Vanessa letters were printed from these copies. *Cadenus and Vanessa*, which gives the Dean's account of the affair was written probably in 1712, and was published in 1726. Swift wrote about it on 19 April 1726 to Knightley Chetwode, and said there were several copies of it going about, and that the Lord Lieutenant had one; 'It was written at Windsor near fourteen years ago, and dated. It was a task performed on a frolic among some ladies, and she it was addressed to died some time ago in Dublin, and on her death the copy was shown by her executor. . . .' On 27 July 1723 Evans, Bishop of Meath, wrote to Archbishop Wake telling him of Vanessa's death, and saying that on her deathbed she charged Marshall to print all the letters and papers, but that the Archbishop of Dublin 'and ye whole Irish posse' had persuaded him not to do so. Delany says that Berkeley read the correspondence and said they contained nothing that would do honour to Vanessa, or cast the least reflection upon Cadenus. Marshall said much the same to the younger Sheridan. The correspondence, as we have it, was first published in Sir Walter Scott's edition of the *Works*; the Foreword credits Berkeley with destroying the originals, but says that Marshall kept copies, and that from a transcript made by Mr Berwick the present edition was prepared. Stock says that Berkeley burnt the 'Cadenus and Vanessa' letters because of the warmth of the lady's style, though there was nothing criminal in them, and that Marshall did not publish the copies he had made from fear of Swift's pen. Stock adds 'the letters are still in being, and whensoever

curiosity or avarice shall draw them into public light, probably they will be found after all to be as trifling and as innocent, as those which our author saw and suppressed.'

Prior's action in breaking into the closet and bedchamber must have occurred about the time when printed copies of the letters were beginning to appear, and there was probably some connection. As a tribute to Berkeley's restraint and fidelity to his friend Swift, it should be mentioned, as first noticed by Messrs Hone and Rossi, that in all this long series of letters to Prior about the Vanessa estate, he never once refers to the questions about Swift which were and are of absorbing interest.

104 To PRIOR

Stock, page xliii ; LR, page 126

It had now been proved that Van Homrigh Sen. was the owner of the securities in question, and that therefore they came into his daughter's estate ; the chief outstanding difficulty was, then, Marshall's unwillingness to allow the proceeds to be used in meeting the English debts.

William Berkeley seems to have been the fourth of the six brothers, coming between Ralph and Robert. He is mentioned again in No. 262, where we find him visiting Cloyne and on his way back to Dublin, and ready to repay certain debentures. He was probably the Captain William Berkeley who in 1747 received a legacy under his cousin's will (No. 241n). Probably, too, he was the Captain William Berkeley, commissioned in General St George's Dragoons (*Dublin Journal*, 14 April 1744, 19 August 1746) who wrote an account of the campaign in Scotland in 1745, who held a command in Fifeshire, and was remembered there with gratitude forty years later, see my *Life*, p. 27.

105 To PRIOR

Stock, page xliii ; LR, page 129

On Alderman Pearson see No. 96n. Was he only a trustee for Van Homrigh, or had he a personal interest in the securities ? In the latter case a renunciation by his heir or heirs would be required. On Doctors' Commons see No. 95n.

Robert Berkeley (see No. 25n) had evidently been to Derry to look after the Dean's interests. A young Fellow of Trinity College with prospects, he is clearly not the ' brother of my own ' whom the Dean thought of using as farmer. William, the soldier, and Thomas were not available ; so he must have had either Ralph or Rowland in view, both settled in the south of Ireland, Ralph at Scarteen, and Rowland at Newmarket.

The ' preparations of a fleet ' is a reference to the worsening of the political situation on the Continent and the prospect of war. In December 1722 the Emperor gave a charter to the Imperial and Royal Company of the Austrian Low Countries, with treaty rights

in the Indies, China, and Africa. This was a blow to the trade of the old Dutch and English Companies, and to the security of England, with a hostile fleet at Ostend menacing the Channel. Townshend built up a group of alliances against the Emperor by the Treaty of Hanover (1725), and sent a squadron to the West Indies to intercept the Spanish galleons, and another squadron to blockade the Spanish coast. By means of subsidies he secured the aid of continental troops. The meeting of Parliament had been delayed by the King's absence in Hanover, see No. 101n. On Caldwell see Nos. 93n, 97.

Dr Peter Ward, sub-dean of Derry Cathedral and Prebendary of Moville (1721–30). Swift names him and others in a letter to Lord Carteret complaining that patronage is going to Englishmen, and that the fair claims of the Irish are being ignored.

106 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 229

In part answer to Percival's of 29 December 1725 (*RBP*, p. 227) ; ' against ' is, of course, *ante*, not *contra*. To support the argument of his *A Proposal . . . for the better supplying . . .* ' which so impressed Mr Lesley, Berkeley was now able to point to a source of supply. Berkeley found out that certain public lands, due to be sold, in the island of St Christopher, now called St Kitts, ceded by France to Britain under the Treaty of Utrecht, were worth much more than the amount expected, and he proposed that part of the additional revenue should be earmarked for the College. A friend of his, Abbé Gualtier, informed King George I of the proposal, and the King commanded Walpole to bring it before Parliament. On the fleets and subsidies see No. 105n ; on Lesley see No. 117n ; of Delon I have found out nothing.

Henry Temple, afterwards 1st Viscount Palmerston (1673 ?–1757) had the distinction of being appointed Chief Remembrancer at the age of seven, friend and correspondent of Swift.

This letter dates Berkeley's celebrated verses on America, which he published in a revised form a quarter of a century later in his *Miscellany* (1752). It is his only known serious poem, and expresses the spirit of the Bermuda enterprise with a touch of prophetic fire. In its published form it varies considerably from this original, that in some lines is more forcible. Some further details about it are contained in the letter which I found and published in *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, XLII, C 6 p. 116. The poem's pessimism about the Old World, and phrases like ' the pedantry of courts and schools ' could have been used to prejudice the Bermuda scheme ; hence the concealment of authorship, and the request not to show it outside the family.

107 To PRIOR

Stock, page xliv ; LR, page 134

On Ward and McCausland see No. 105n. Mr Bolton may be a relative of Dr John Bolton, Dean of Derry, 1700–24. On Continental affairs and the King's stay in Hanover see No. 105n. When Berkeley deprecates being ' obliged to leave this kingdom,' he is thinking of the Irish Sea, not the Atlantic ; he means that if he were obliged to go to Derry to settle his deanery lands, the Bermuda scheme would suffer.

108 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlv ; LR, page 137

The implication of the letter is that if Parliament refused to establish St Paul's College (so named in the Charter), Bermuda, he would go to Derry to reside, and would not farm all the lands.

109 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlv ; LR, page 138

Berkeley's remarkable success in the House of Commons surprised Walpole himself. The need for an enlightened colonial policy and the responsibility of the home country for the spiritual needs of colonies would be accepted as axiomatic today ; but in those days, it would seem, colonies were viewed as mere outlets for trade, as dependencies to be kept dependent. For instance, the episcopate was denied to America to keep her dependent ; episcopalians in the Plantations, denied bishops of their own, had to send, at great expense and risk, young men across the Atlantic to seek ordination at the hands of the Bishop of London. There was a similar feeling about university education ; those who wanted it must send to Oxford and Cambridge for it. The narrow-minded policy brought its own nemesis ; the measures to secure dependence produced the Declaration of Independence. If Queen Anne had had her way, and had been allowed to establish bishoprics in America (she designed four), and if St Paul's College in Rhode Island or, better still, New York, had been built, the course of history might have been different.

The outlook of the reactionary ' great men ' to whom Berkeley here refers, may be gathered from the following extract from Percival's letter (*RBP*, p. 269). He tells of a very good Lord, the ornament of the nobility for learning and sobriety who maintained ' that learning tended to make the Plantations independent of their mother country, adding that the ignorance of the Indians and the variety of sects in our Plantations was England's security. He was even sorry that we had an university in Dublin.'

110 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 231

Telling Percival what he had already told Prior of his Parliamentary success, and adding that His Majesty had sent a gracious reply to the petition of the Commons.

The Percivals were still on the Continent, presumably in Holland ; for Percival answered this letter on 6 June from the Hague. His son George, the seventh child, born 28 January 1722, was delicate, as we can gather from this letter, and he died soon after it was written, viz. on 10 June, and was buried in St James' Church (*RBP*, p. 234n). The eldest son, John, who succeeded to the title, was a friend and correspondent of Berkeley (see especially Nos. 205, 252) ; he married (15 February 1733) Lady Catherine Cecil, second daughter of James Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (*RBP*, p. 14). Berkeley's remark, ' my third since . . .' drew an unusually warm and *intime* letter from Percival, declaring his ' fixt and unalterable esteem and friendship.'

111 To PRIOR

LR, page 140

Marshall settled for most of the Irish debts, but was unwilling to agree that Berkeley should do the same for the English debts, holding that the English debts had been incurred, not by Vanessa, but by her mother. Meantime Berkeley was exposed to the importunity of creditors, some of them needy.

We have a side-light on these debts in Swift's correspondence, and a mention of the debt to Tooke (see Ball, II, 173).

Benjamin Tooke of the Middle Temple Gate, Fleet Street, was Swift's friend and publisher. On 8 July 1714 Swift wrote to Vanessa, ' If you want to borrow any money, I would have you to send to Mr Barber or Ben Tooke, which you please, and let them know it and the sum, and that I will stand bound for it, and send them my bond. . . . I suppose you have not given bonds to pay your mother's debts . . . if you have no more secret debts than that [£2 5s], I shall be glad. But still I cannot understand how any of those creditors of your mother can give you any trouble, unless there be some circumstances that I do not know the bottom of . . . if you want to borrow money, I would have you do it soon, and, of the two, rather of Ben Tooke. . . .' Swift goes on to give detailed instructions about borrowing from Tooke.

William Cotterill, Dean of Raphoe 1725, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin 1743. He made no overtures for the house in Derry (No. 114), which accordingly went to Dr Ward (No. 105n).

112 To PRIOR

LR, page 145

Berkeley complains that his agents at Derry, Messrs McManus, are charging him for items, not sanctioned in advance and not fairly his, and he asks that the London solicitors for Vanessa's estate, Messrs Wogan and Aspinwall, should be authorized to sell stock whenever they thought it advisable to do so.

113 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 234

A letter of condolence on the death of Percival's young son, George (No. 110), and of thanks for Percival's kindly letter, with an explanation of the remark about unanswered letters. Berkeley adds particulars about his financial position to explain the delay in repaying the loan of sixty guineas. Loans were frequent between the two friends, and were not all the one way. Berkeley lent £3,000 to Percival for some years, and it was repaid a few months before Percival's death (No. 237).

Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford (1676–1745). His long ministry (1721–42) established the Hanoverians on the throne. His guiding principle, *quieta non movere*, was prudent in the circumstances, but his other principles were thought to have lowered the standard of public life. His chief positive contribution was in the sphere of national finance, which he reorganized. His family had been long settled at Houghton in Norfolkshire.

Foreign policy at this period was in the hands of Lord Townshend, who in August 1726 persuaded the Dutch to accede to the provisions of the treaty. In June of the same year French policy changed. The King's old tutor, Fleury, replaced the Duc de Bourbon, and the French became hostile to England, but there was no outward breach so long as Walpole's brother, Horatio, was ambassador at Paris. In 1730 Townshend resigned after a difference with the Prime Minister. The death of George I in the autumn of 1737 weakened Walpole's position, but for some years he ruled by the help of Queen Caroline. The Duke of Newcastle was his loyal supporter. The trading community forced him into war with Spain, and in 1742 he resigned on a minor electoral matter. Walpole was a great peace minister, and the greatest of Britain's finance ministers.

114 To PRIOR

LR, page 148

Mary Van Homrigh's debts are mentioned ; she was living with her sister at Celbridge and died there in 1721. Dr Ward (No. 105n) is to have the use of the deanery, as the Dean of Raphoe has not accepted

Berkeley's offer. Prior wishes to take his commission of 1s in the pound ; but Berkeley says No ; for no progress has been made with the Partinton case. Mr Bindon was, no doubt, his London friend ' at the Golden Glove in Jermyn's Street, near Piccadilly ' (No. 98). Apparently Berkeley had £100 English from him, repaid him with a draft for £110 (odd) Irish, which Synge (see No. 102) debited to Berkeley as £110 English. On Alderman McManus see No. 95n.

115 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlv ; LR, page 154

The stocks are sold, and Berkeley repeats his request for various documents, and gives details of Synge's overpayment to Bindon (No. 114). He wishes to meet Prior and asks about his plans for coming to England (see No. 107). On Mary Van Homrigh see No. 114n. On Tooke see No. 111n. Fellowships in St Paul's College, Bermuda are in demand, as the Government is backing the scheme ; originally it was to be staffed from Trinity College, Dublin.

116 To PRIOR

LR, page 158

Berkeley goes to lodge with Smibert, whom he had met in Italy and who accompanied him to America, becoming a pioneer of American art.

John Smibert (Smybert, 1684–1751, see *DNB*), portrait painter, born in Edinburgh, went to Italy in 1717, working at Florence, Rome, and Naples. He set up at Boston, where he painted many portraits, and there he died. He married Mary Williams, and they had two children. From Cloyne Berkeley wrote to him telling of an open door at Cork (No. 182). Smibert helped him with the auction of Vanessa's pictures. In addition to the group at Yale, ' The Dean and his Companions,' two at least of the extant portraits of Berkeley are by Smibert, viz. that in the National Portrait Gallery, London, and that owned by the Massachusett's Historical Society (Nos. 2 and 3 in my Iconography, *Life*, pp. 240–2.)

Swift and Co. were Dublin bankers who did much of Berkeley's business at this time. On Synge see No. 102n ; on Doctors' Commons see No. 80n, 95n. Partinton's son benefited under the will of young Bartholomew Van Homrigh on condition of taking the latter's surname. On Tooke's note see No. 111n.

117 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxi ; Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 144 ; ALS Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39311. Stock omits all but the last paragraph. Monck Berkeley and Fraser omit the letter altogether because, I suppose, of the reference to the trial of Berkeley's brother

Messrs Hone and Rossi (*Bishop Berkeley*, p. 139) quote from a letter of Knightley Chetwode to John Ussher, dated 20 August 1726, ' Robin Leslie is at last arrived and has visited me. He resolves to go next April to Bermuda with George Berkeley, whose brother, a Bachelor of Arts in the College, I hear married two wives, one of them (the first) a cousin of Whitshed who condemned him at Kilkenny to die.'

If Berkeley's words seem wanting in human feeling, we must remember that circumstances aggravated the blow and the family disgrace. A dignitary of the Church, he had recently come into the public eye as the author of a noble scheme for promoting religion and learning in the New World. Besides, for all his breadth of mind, Berkeley was stern and uncompromising where morals were concerned. His daughter-in-law, Eliza Berkeley, reports that one of the brothers eloped with a lady of family, and utterly refused to marry her, and years afterwards went to visit the Bishop at Cloyne. The Bishop refused to see him ' though he was then what the world calls a *worthy man*, and dined by himself in the library for the two or three days of the visit, saying, ' He is a genuine scoundrel ; I trust God will forgive him upon his repentance ; but I will never see him while I breathe.'

Richard Helsham, Fellow TCD (medicus) 1704 ; co-opted Senior Fellow 1714 ; Erasmus Smith Professor 1724–38, Regius Professor of Physic 1733–8. His lectures on Natural Philosophy were edited by Bryan Robinson 1739 ; he died in 1738. He was the friend and medical adviser of Swift.

The rest of the letter concerns the usual figures in the affair of the Vanessa estate, and in the setting of the Derry glebe.

118 To PRIOR

LR, page 160

These disputes over the Derry accounts make wearisome reading, but at least they correct the traditional picture of Berkeley as the absent-minded philosopher with his head in the clouds, and show that he was a keen and shrewd man of affairs.

Colonel Sampson's island is the Island of Inch, supporting about a hundred families, connected by a causeway with Fahan. Inch was a Chapel of Ease to Templemore, the Cathedral parish.

The Sampsons were a plantation family connected with the Derry district for two centuries. Major Richard Sampson at the Plantation acquired a considerable estate near Burt. Colonel Michael Sampson

served in King William's army at the Boyne, and was killed before Limerick in 1691. His son and successor, Colonel William Sampson of Burt and Inch Castle, married one of the daughters of George Sampson of Buncrana. Sampsons for three generations were colonels in the British army, and for three subsequent generations were beneficed clergy of the established church. See *Fighters of Derry*, by William R Young, London 1932, Young's *Three Hundred Years in Innishowen*, p. 211, *Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry*, Dublin 1837, I, 97.

This matrimonial jest is the only reference to the subject prior to the letter (No. 134) announcing Berkeley's marriage, which took place on 1 August 1728. For the payment to the curates in the first year see No. 175.

119 To PRIOR

ALS in Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39311; Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 145

A repetition of previous inquiries as to the Partinton suit, the charges on the Derry estate, and the debts claimed from the Van Homrighs. On his lodging with Smibert, the painter, in Covent Garden, see No. 116n.

120 To PRIOR

LR, page 165

Entirely concerned with the Van Homrigh debts; the younger sister Mary had left debts incurred during her mother's lifetime, and Berkeley seems to think that such were fairly chargeable against Vanessa's estate.

121 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxii; LR, page 169

More about the debts. The College affairs are pressing, and Berkeley is doing the work of ten men. He will want money on landing in Bermuda to buy land, which is dear. In Rhode Island he bought 100 acres at about £10 an acre. On his brother Robert (Robin) see No. 25n; this is, I think, the only trace of a falling-out; it seems to have been a passing cloud.

122 To PRIOR

Stock, pages xlvi, lxiii; LR, page 174

Prior has at length furnished the necessary light on the business of Vanessa's estate, and Berkeley here rewards his friend with an account of the position of the Bermuda business and of what took place behind the scenes. In spite of the Parliamentary vote there had been continued opposition by great men in the Cabinet; but the King has ordered the warrant to be drawn, and the Solicitor-General, Baron Scroop,

and Mr Hutcheson (Berkeley's friend) are appointed to draft it. They have held a council with Berkeley, and have agreed to a rent-charge on all the Crown lands of St Christopher's, redeemable when the Crown pays £20,000 for the use of the President and Fellows of St Paul's College. Berkeley is satisfied and expects to sail in the following April.

It is not easy to understand why the grant did not come automatically after this decision, approved, Berkeley states, by Walpole, and certainly some highly placed officials, originally against the scheme, said subsequently that affairs had gone so far that England was morally bound to go through with it (*RBP*, p. 270). The weak point in the arrangement from Berkeley's point of view was that no *terminus ad quem* was fixed ; presumably Walpole was aware of the loophole, and used it in his final message that recalled Berkeley from Rhode Island. Politely, but firmly, he told the Bishop of London that of course the money would be paid when it suited the public convenience to do so, but that it was useless for Berkeley to wait out there for it ; in other words Walpole had made up his mind that it would never suit the public convenience to pay it. For the address of the Commons and the King's reply see Nos. 109, 110 ; on Walpole see No. 113n.

The Solicitor-General ranks next to the Attorney-General ; the office dates from the reign of Edward IV. Sir Clement Wearg, who reported favourably on Berkeley's original *Proposal* (see No 93n), was Solicitor-General from 1 February 1724 ; he died in the following year, and was succeeded in April 1726 by Chas. Talbot, afterwards Lord Chancellor.

John Scrope (1662–1752), Baron of the Court of the Exchequer (Scotland) 1708, M.P. for Ripon, Secretary to the Treasury 1724, a loyal friend of Walpole.

Archibald Hutcheson in James Street is named in the *Proposal* (1725) as willing to receive subscriptions for the Bermuda scheme. On Smibert and the sale of the pictures see Nos. 116, 123 ; on Doctors' Commons see No. 95n ; on Tooke see No. 111n.

123 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlvii ; LR, page 182

Thomas Fermor, 2nd Baron Leominster, was created Earl of Pomfret in 1721 ; he was a friend of Martin Benson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester (see Fraser, *LL*, pp. 141n, 332). The ' will relating to Bermuda ' was probably that of Sir Nathaniel Riche, dated 2 December 1635, which was submitted along with Berkeley's Petition, as evidence of an unappropriated bequest for educating Indian children in Bermuda ; see *Hermathena*, XXIII, 32.

On Smibert and the sale of the Dutch pictures, see No. 116n.

Alderman John Barber was Swift's printer and secretary, and he and Vanessa and the jewels, here referred to, are mentioned in *Swift's*

Correspondence (see I, 343–4 ; II, 209 ; III, 59, 63, 67). On 4 August 1720 Swift wrote to Vanessa, 'Sure Glassheel (Ford) is come over, and gave me a message from J.B. about the money on the jewels.' And again (15 Oct.), 'I had a letter from your friend J.B. in London in answer to what I told you that Glassheel said about the money. J.B.'s answer is that you are a person of honour ; that you need give yourself no trouble about it ; that you will pay when you are able, and he will be content till then.' From which it is clear that Barber had advanced money to Vanessa on the security of her jewels to enable her to escape from London, when her mother's debts had left her embarrassed. The 'reversionary lands' were part of Vanessa's property at Celbridge, eventually sold to her neighbour, Mr Conolly, of Castletown, see No. 125n. For McManus and the provision of curates for Derry see Nos. 95n, 118n.

124 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlvii ; LR, page 185

Secrecy instructions about his proposed visit to Dublin occur in seven letters of this period. Berkeley is going to Dublin to conclude the business of the Vanessa estate, to ship his books, and to make final arrangements with his colleagues in Trinity College, and, perhaps, to make arrangements for his approaching marriage. But why should any of these objects require the incognito, and the extreme precautions suggested in these letters? One can only suppose that Berkeley was so much in the public eye that his movements were 'news,' and that this secret visit to Dublin was part of his plan for slipping off to America without leave-taking, see Nos. 134n, 143.

The Dublin place names are still familiar to residents there. Berkeley is willing to take a house on the north side at Clontarf, or on the south side at Rathmines or Rathfarnham.

The old castle of Rathmines was built by Sir George Radcliffe in the seventeenth century on the site known as 'The Orchards,' Palmerston Park. The entrance was opposite the end of Highfield Road by the terminus of the Palmerston Park tram-line ; see W. St J. Joyce, *The Neighbourhood of Dublin*, Dublin 1912, p. 170.

St Kevin's was part of the parish of St Peter's ; St Kevin's Lane (1577) was near the present South Circular Road (1875). St Kevin was Abbot of Glendalough, *c.*618.

The Old Men's Hospital, an almost forgotten name for the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham. The lands belonged to the Knights Templars, and were transferred to the Knights of St John of Jerusalem ; in 1675 it was decided to build there an asylum for disabled and superannuated soldiers on the model of the Parisian Hôpital des Invalides. The first stone was laid in 1680 after a design by Sir Christopher Wren ; for a detailed description, see G. N. Wright, *An Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin*, London 1821, p. 333.

125 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlviii ; LR, page 188

Berkeley was proposing to visit Ireland (No. 124n) just when Prior was proposing to visit England (No. 107). Partinton Jr. was to take the name Van Homrigh (No. 86n) ; on the sale of Vanessa's pictures see No. 123.

Speaker Conolly (No. 81n) built his noble Georgian mansion, Castletown, at Celbridge on the north bank of the Liffey ; across the river a little higher upstream is Vanessa's house and estate (for a photograph see Ball's *Swift's Correspondence*, III, 60).

126 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlviii ; LR, page 189

Berkeley shows himself very anxious not to miss Prior's visit to England (No. 107n) ; on his own visit to Ireland and the secrecy instructions see No. 124n. Drumcondra is a busy suburb of Dublin on the north side. On Caldwell see No. 93n.

The bell-man acted as night-watchman, called the hours and made public announcements. ' I staid up till the bell-man came by and cried, Past one of the clock, and a cold frosty, windy morning ' (Pepys' *Diary*, 16 June 1659).

127 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlvii ; LR, page 192

The death of King George I on 12 June 1727 seemed likely to prove a set-back to the Bermuda scheme, as the broad seal had not been put to the agreement ; however the delay was trifling. *La mer à boire*, proverbial for the impossible.

128 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlix ; LR, page 193

Berkeley's visit to Dublin is imminent, and the six months' gap between Nos. 130 and 131 looks as if the friends had been together for some time in that summer or autumn, but see note on No. 131. Stock reads ' unravelled ' which is more graphic than ' ravell'd ' (*LR*).

Swift also writes (24 June, to Sheridan) about the expected changes of ministry ; it was thought that Walpole would lose office in favour of the King's favourite, Spencer Compton, but the latter proved incapable, and Walpole retained office. Lord Berkeley, the First Lord of the Admiralty, was the only minister to lose office at this juncture.

129 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlix ; LR, page 194

The Coronation was on 11 October ; Swift's letters of the period (III, 399 ff.) show that the new King attended to business at once on his accession. Swift had business with him about the Chancellorship of Dublin University held at the time by the new King ; on Swift's advice (ib. p. 403) Frederick, Prince of Wales, was appointed Chancellor in 1728. The uncertainties of cross-channel traffic are illustrated by the account of Swift's journey to Dublin (ib. p. 425). At Chester he was offered a passage in the Government yacht that often took distinguished passengers, but as he was in a hurry he went on by road to Holyhead, where contrary winds detained him for a week in Mrs Welch's ' little smoky room ' ; finally he got to sea, but they had a stormy passage, and were forced to put in at Carlingford.

On Edward Synge, Canon of St Patrick's, intimate friend of Swift and Berkeley see No. 102n. On the reversionary lands see No. 125n.

130 To PRIOR

Stock, page xlix ; LR, page 196

On Berkeley's long-intended visit to Dublin see Nos. 124n, 125. Dolphin's Barn is a well-known spot in the west suburbs of Dublin towards the end of the South Circular Road. Pimlico is near the Coombe, and the street of that name was made in 1728. Pimlico in London took its name from Ben. Pimlico, who had tea-gardens near Hoxton ; see McCready, *Dublin Street Names*, 1892. On the reversionary lands, see No. 123n.

131 To PRIOR

Stock, page l ; LR, page 199

The six months' gap in the correspondence looks as if the two friends had been together during the interval. The ' by word of mouth ' points in the same direction, and the ' I told you here ' makes it almost certain that Prior had carried out his intention of crossing to England. Swift and Co. were Berkeley's Dublin bankers, McManus was his agent or attorney at Derry. On Petit Rose see No. 156. There are two streets in Dublin bearing the name Church Street—old Church Street, running from Father Mathew Bridge, Arran Quay to Constitutional Hill, dating from 1666 ; and new Church Street, running from Bow Street to Smithfield, dating from 1685.

132 To PRIOR

Stock, page l; Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 146; from ALS in Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39311

Stock omits the first paragraph and the postscript. The absence of the letter from the *Literary Relics*, and the presence of the autograph in the *Berkeley Papers* makes one wonder whether the autographs of the other letters to Prior would be now in the *Berkeley Papers*, if Monck Berkeley had not used them for his edition.

Robert Clayton (1695–1758), see *DNB* for the details of his curious career; born in Dublin and educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Dublin; Fellow 1714, LL.D. 1722, D.D. 1730; he resigned his fellowship 17 June 1728 when he married Catherine, daughter of Lord Donnellan, and in the same year he inherited estates in Lancashire. 'Dr. Clayton is by means of Mrs. Clayton in great favour at Court' (Percival, *RBP*, p. 259). At this period he was Berkeley's lieutenant in the Bermuda scheme, and evidently he intended to accompany him there (No. 150). He was appointed Bishop of Killala 1729, of Cork and Ross 1735, of Clogher 1745. A liberal theologian and F.R.S. he wrote minor works on religion, especially on prophecy and chronology, foretelling the ruin of popery and the end of the Jewish dispersion in A.D. 2000. The Arian *Essay of Spirit*, 1751, is attributed to him, and he certainly wrote in defence of it. On 2 February 1756 he proposed in the Irish House of Lords that the Nicene and Athanasian creeds should be removed from the liturgy; his speech was taken down in shorthand and afterwards printed and published; in the following year he attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, and advanced so many views inconsistent with the XXXIX Articles that the Government ordered his prosecution; he died 26 February 1758 before the case was heard; his bust is in the Long Room, TCD., and see letter in the *Red Calendar*, p. 495n.

Great Britain Street, off Upper O'Connell Street, dates from 1728. Ballybough Bridge, over the river Tolka dates from 1488; first erected by John Decer (1308) it was destroyed by flood in 1313; see McCready, *Dublin Street Names*. See No. 124n for Berkeley's visit to Dublin and the secrecy instructions. 'The place called Bermuda' is, of course, some house or estate in the Dublin suburbs. An estate bearing that name (the 'Hy Brasil' of the period) was recently identified by a Mrs Post in the Pembroke township.

Samuel Madden (1686–1765), born in Dublin; his father was a physician, his mother was the daughter of William Molyneux. He succeeded to family estates in Manor Waterhouse, Co. Fermanagh, and he was ordained for Galloon nearby. Philip Skelton was his curate. In 1729 he published *Themistocles*, a play which had a considerable run in London. In 1731 he published *A Proposal for the General Encouragement of Learning in Dublin College.* It was a scheme based on premiums (hence his soubriquet 'Premium Madden'; he himself contributed £600) and grew into the present Prize and Honor system. In 1738 he

published *Reflections and Resolutions Proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland . . .* (repr. 1816). He was active in the work of the Dublin Society, constantly giving and advertising premiums in the fine and useful arts, in husbandry and manufactures etc. He was a close friend of Berkeley, and collaborated with him in the work for Ireland represented by the *Querist*, which he saw through the press, as 'editor' (No. 187). Dr Johnson said of Madden, 'His was a name Ireland ought to honour.' Madden's second son, Samuel Molyneux Madden, bequeathed in 1798 the fund for the Madden Prize for fellowship premiums.

133 To FAIRFAX

ALS in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Proc. R.I. Acad., xlii, C 6, page 99

This letter, dated from Dublin, is the only direct proof, I think, that Berkeley paid a visit to Dublin shortly before sailing to America.

Fourteen Commissioners of Customs were appointed in 1723, amongst them Fairfax; he appears on the lists till 1748; see *Book of Dignities*.

The size of Berkeley's library is remarkable; that he took so many books with him is proof that he intended to make his home across the Atlantic.

134 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 236

And so we reach the moral crisis of Berkeley's life, the voyage, or, rather, mission to America, and letters of farewell on the eve of sailing go to Percival and Prior. Two years had elapsed since the last extant letter to Percival (No. 113) and for the greater part of that two years the two friends had been together in London. Why then did he not say farewell in person? Because the circumstances that obliged him to go, obliged him to go quietly and against the judgment of his best friends. He had to sail for America because subscribers were beginning to question his *bona fides*; three or four years had elapsed, and they saw nothing done; but to sail without the Government grant would seem sheer imprudence to a man like Percival. 'This obliged me to come away in the private manner that I did' (No. 143). From Greenwich on the outskirts of London the ship of 250 tons (*Historical Register*, XIII, 289), hired by Berkeley, dropped down to Gravesend, some seventeen miles away, whence was written the farewell letter to Prior.

His bride, Anne (1 August 1728 is given as the date of the marriage) was the daughter of John Forster, Recorder of Dublin, Speaker of the Irish house of Commons 1707–9, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1714; she was a strong, capable and many-sided personality; the spinning-wheel symbolizes, no doubt, the interest in the development of Irish industry that she shared with her husband. She died at Langley, Kent, 27 May 1786; for an account of her life and character

and of the children of the marriage, see my *Life*, pp. 111 ff., 180 ff., App. I.

Their travelling companions were Miss Hancock, John James, Richard Dalton and John Smibert. Miss Hancock was daughter of Sir William Hancock, Recorder of Dublin. She appears in the Smibert painting and is mentioned in No. 147 ; but there is no other mention of her ; presumably she lived with the Berkeleys at Whitehall, and returned with them to England. James and Dalton were monied men travelling for pleasure ; they left the ship at Virginia, and travelled northwards independently, foregathered at Newport, and settled for some years at Boston. In 1736 James became Sir John James of Bury St Edmunds (see No. 186) ; he died in 1741 ; shortly before his death he proposed to join the Church of Rome, and Berkeley wrote him a long dissertation on the Roman controversy, (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39306, f. 19) published in 1850 by J. S. M. Anderson, reproduced in this edition, vol. VII, p. 143. Dalton, a Lincolnshire gentleman, was a man of some learning, and in the Smibert group he is acting as Berkeley's amanuensis. On Smibert see No. 116n.

Thomas Corbett, a secretary to the Admiralty, 25 June 1728 to 13 October 1742 ; see *DNB*.

135 To PRIOR

Stock, page lii ; LR, page 202

Note the explicit statement that they were bound for Rhode Island. Newman (No. 92) wrote eight letters to influential persons in America to introduce Berkeley ; from these it is clear that Berkeley already wished to transfer the College to Rhode Island, and intended if he failed to win the consent of the Government to use Rhode Island as a base for supplies for Bermuda. See Allen and McClure, *History of the S.P.C.K.* and *Proc. R.I. Acad.* XLII, C 6, pp. 103–5.

A moidore was ' a gold coin of Portugal, current in England in the first half of the 18th century ' (O.E.D.). It was worth approximately 27s. In the *Querist* Berkeley condemns the moidore as an over-rated piece. Of Richard Berkeley, his cousin, nothing else is known.

On Corbett and the travelling companions see No. 134n. Messrs Swift were Berkeley's Dublin bankers. Dr Ward and McManus were, respectively, his sub-dean and his agent at Derry. On Clayton see No. 132n. The Charter allowed Berkeley and his associates to retain their preferments at home for eighteen months after their arrival in Bermuda.

136 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 237

The Atlantic has been crossed, and the Berkeleys have reached Rhode Island. They had put in at Virginia, some 400 miles south of Rhode Island, but whether by design or stress of weather we do not

know. The Virginian port was probably Williamsburg, the oldest incorporated town in the State, the then capital, and the seat of William and Mary College, chartered in 1693, the next senior to Harvard University College. Richmond, projected in 1733 by Colonel William Byrd, the owner of great estates on the river James, became the capital in 1779.

Byrd was a friend of Percival, and wrote to him on 10 June 1729 a long letter (*RBP*, p. 243) that gives a side-light on Berkeley's visit. 'About two months ago [nearly five months—Ed.] Dean Berkeley put into this country on his way to Rhode Island, where he is gone to purchase some lands that may supply his intended college at Bermudas with provisions. I had not the pleasure of seeing him by reason his stay was exceeding short. He only dined with the Governour, and went out of town in the evening. However he visited our College, and was very well pleased with it.' There follows a keen criticism of the Bermuda project.

Here James and Dalton left the ship and went separately by land to Rhode Island. The Berkeleys sailed direct, and anchored in Newport 23 January 1729; they were welcomed at the quay by the Rev. James Honeyman, the episcopal minister of Rhode Island, and his congregation; for an account of their landing see Bull's Memoir in Updike's *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett*, pp. 394 ff. For over two and a half years Rhode Island was the Berkeleys' home.

Now for the first time Berkeley mentions the proposal to change the site of the College from Bermuda to Rhode Island. The proposal was generally approved by the friends of the scheme; its enemies, as Berkeley surmised, at once seized the handle and argued that the change was an admission of the impracticability of the scheme as sanctioned. The purchase of land in Rhode Island deepened the impression that Berkeley meant to stay there, and had abandoned Bermuda; in fact, Berkeley meant it to do double duty; it would be a site for the College, if the grant was paid and the transfer sanctioned; if the transfer was not sanctioned, the Rhode Island land would be a farm supplying provisions for the College in Bermuda.

The postscript means (see No. 143) that Berkeley had heard a rumour of war with Spain, and wished to realize his securities. On Newman see No. 92n; on Dr Clayton, his lieutenant in the scheme, see No. 132n; on Corbett see No. 134n.

137 To PERCIVAL

EP; RBP, page 240

To this letter Percival replied 25 April 1729; he takes the purchase of land to imply the transfer of the College; he has sold the £2,000 Annuities for £2,047 10s, which Messrs Hoare had placed in a distinct account.

The bearer of Berkeley's letter was one of those (see No. 109n) who had to cross the Atlantic for ordination, because of the short-

sighted Colonial policy of the day. George Berkeley, Jr., the Bishop's son, took an active part in the movement for giving the episcopate to America ; see *The Life of Samuel Seabury, D.D.* by E. E. Beardsley, London 1884. On Rhode Island as the home of religious liberty see my *Life*, pp. 116, 119–20 ; on Honyman (Honeyman) see ib. p. 117. He was appointed by the SPG in 1704 to take charge of Trinity Church, Newport, and he died there 2 July 1750. On Dering, see No. 2n.

Pierre François Le Courrayer (1681–1776), French theologian ; he was born at Rouen and died in London. He taught philosophy and theology at the fraternity of Sainte Geneviève, Canon 1706, Librarian 1711. He made a study of Anglican theology, and in 1723 he published anonymously at Brussels *Dissertation sur la validité des ordinations des anglais . . .*, subsequently admitting authorship and publishing his *Défense . . .* which was translated into English in 1728. He was excommunicated and retired to England where he was received by Archbishop Wake. He received a Government pension, and was appointed to an Oxford canonry. He never abjured the Roman Catholic faith, though he rejected several key doctrines, including transubstantiation ; he defended the validity of anglican orders, but did not accept the anglican position. His arrival in England aroused great interest, and Lord Percival sent a coach and six to meet him.

138 To BERNON

I copied this letter and No. 141 from the MS in the Library of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, and published them in 'Hermathena,' xxiii, 37–8

Gabriel Bernon, a Huguenot, was born at Rochelle 6 April 1644 ; he settled at Providence and died there in 1736. A leading business man and a keen supporter of the Church, he secured the appointment of a resident minister in 1723. Some sad event had occurred and the Church was shaken. Under the impression that the Dean had authority or jurisdiction, he asked for his intervention. Berkeley courteously declined, referring Bernon to the Bishop of London and the SPG. The incident illustrates the difficulties of Berkeley's position, and explains why he chose to live in comparative seclusion on the island instead of settling at Boston. Anything like interference in colonial matters would have been reported to his detriment at home.

The see of London which had general charge of overseas anglican affairs was held by Edmund Gibson (see No. 93n).

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts (SPG) was incorporated in 1701 with the support of the King at the instance of the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London. See P. Stubs *An Account of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, London 1704, which states the Society's aims and methods, and reports on various centres, including Rhode Island, which is said to be ' all under Quaker government, except one congregation of Mr

Lockyer's,' maintained partly by the people of Newport and partly from England.

Providence, founded by Roger Williams in 1636, and named by him in recognition of ' God's merciful providence to me in my distress,' has been since 1900 the sole capital of Rhode Island State. Newport, the principal town of Rhode Island, between the estuaries of the rivers, Providence and Sakonnet, was a busy seaport and is now a fashionable summer and autumn resort.

Population (census)		Whites	Negroes	Indians
Providence	(1730)	3,707	128	248
,,	(1930)	252,981 (total)		
,,	(1940)	253,504 (total)		
Newport	(1730)	3,843	649	248
,,	(1930)	27,612 (total)		
,,	(1940)	30,532 (total)		

139 To BENSON

ALS bought in London in 1947 by the Fellows of Davenport College and presented by them to the Fellows of Berkeley College, Yale, where a finely printed copy was privately circulated. I published the text with comments from a separate transcript in Proc. R.I. Acad., li, C 4, page 86. The cover in addition to address and postmark bears the addition by a later hand, ' For 2nd Vol Lit Relics By G:M:B:Esquire.' This means that the letter must have come back from the Bensons into the possession of the Berkeley family ; for G:M:B: is George Monck Berkeley, the Bishop's grandson who published ' Literary Relics ' in 1789, intending (see his mother's Preface to her edition of the Poems, p. ccccxxxvii) to follow it up with a second volume, which never appeared. No. 258 was amongst those ready for the second volume

The Berkeleys, Bensons, Seckers and Talbots were connected by close ties, and the *Berkeley Papers* (MS 39313 cover and MS 39315, f. 2) record that the Benson and Secker papers probably came into the possession of Canon and Mrs Berkeley through their friendship with the Talbots. This letter took about two months to cross the Atlantic, and Benson replied to it from London 23 June. His reply is preserved in the *Berkeley Papers* and is printed by Fraser (*LL*, pp. 170–2).

Martin Benson (1689–1752), F.R.S., of Christ Church, Oxford, Prebendary of Salisbury 1720, of Durham 1724, Archdeacon of Berks 1721, Chaplain to the King 1727, Rector of Bletchley 1727, Bishop of Gloucester 1735. Berkeley made his acquaintance in Italy. He supported the Bermuda scheme, received subscriptions for it, and when Clayton was made a Bishop, Benson took his place as Berkeley's deputy. He revived the office of Rural Dean in his diocese, and gave advice to Berkeley in an extant letter on doing likewise in Cloyne (Fraser, *LL*, p. 287). He and Berkeley were on very intimate terms.

The description of Rhode Island and its people is much the same

as in the other letters announcing his arrival ; but the postscript with its reference to Colonial politics and the effect of an episcopal seminary strikes a new note. Join that reference to the cryptic ' the subject of our last conversation ' and to the curious words in Benson's reply, where he tells of the likelihood of Clayton being made a Bishop in Ireland, ' and by this means of that being really compassed by his means, which you projected in relation to another person.' It looks as if the subject discussed was the establishment of the episcopate in America, that Berkeley proposed that Benson should be consecrated to serve in America, and that now Clayton might go out as a Bishop and formally establish the episcopate, as Seabury was to do later.

Whitehall, the house Berkeley built on his farm near Middletown, is still standing, and is preserved in his honour ; see my *Life*, pp. 122–4 and the plate facing p. 101.

Thomas Rundle (1688 ?–1743), liberal theologian, helped Whiston to promote a Society for promoting primitive Christianity ; the Talbot family advanced him, but when he was nominated for the bishopric of Gloucester the Bishop of London interposed, representing Rundle as a deist. Gloucester went to Benson. In 1735 Rundle was appointed to the bishopric of Derry. Swift wrote,

> Rundle a bishop—well he may.
> He's still a Christian—more than they.
> I know the subject of their quarrels.
> The man has learning, sense, and morals.

Philip Yorke or York, (1690–1764), Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, Lord Chancellor, and first Earl of Hardwicke. He conducted many important cases, and many legal reforms were due to him ; his only rival at the Bar was Charles Talbot. He married Margaret, daughter of Charles Cocks of Worcester (cf. No. 174).

On Berkeley's reasons for leaving without taking leave see Nos. 134n and 143. On Newman see No. 92n ; on Corbett see No. 134n ; on Honeyman see No. 137 ; on James and Dalton see No. 134n ; on Smibert see No. 116n.

140 To PRIOR

Stock, page liii ; LR, page 209

Berkeley's account of place and people is much the same as in the other letters ; his figures for the population of Newport are higher (by 1,000) than the census figures for 1730. The imposing summer residences which border the sea-front at Newport today form a commentary on his advice to Prior to invest in New World property.

On his brother Robert see No. 92n. Messrs Wogan and Aspinwall were solicitors for the business of the Vanessa estate in London. Messrs Swift and Co. were his Dublin bankers. On Corbett see No. 134n.

141 To BERNON

See notes on the companion letter No. 138

142 To PRIOR

Stock, page liv ; LR, page 212

Robert Marshall of Clonmel entered Trinity College 1715 ; called to the Irish Bar 1723 ; co-executor with Berkeley of Vanessa's will, often mentioned in Berkeley's letters as dilatory or obstructive ; he published *Cadenus and Vanessa* and the correspondence ; later, Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland. Swift (*Correspondence*, II, 366) speaks of the hope of a legacy ' upon the death of an old uncle, one Finny. '

Henry, the eldest child, was born *c.*12 June 1729, and was baptized in Trinity Church, Newport, 1 September 1729 ; he was an invalid in early manhood, and was abroad at the time of his father's death ; he was alive in 1756, and is said to have died in Queen's County ; he appears as in infant in Smibert's group. On Berkeley's children see my *Life*, App. I.

John Hamilton was appointed Dean of Dromore 2 May 1724, died 1729 ; he seems to have proposed to Berkeley a change of Deaneries. The Deanery of Dromore was a sinecure to which Berkeley was appointed by the Crown, but he failed to establish his right against the Bishop's nominee, see No. 73n. For the proposal to change the site of the chartered College see No. 136n ; New York was also suggested.

143 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 250, forwarded by Newman (see No. 92n)

Rumours of war, now dying away, had decided him to sell out his annuities. The Treasury had already received a good deal of the St Christopher's money, but Percival's letter (*RBP*, p. 248), announcing this, had not yet reached him.

The difficulties of Berkeley's position, as this letter shows, trace to the pull of three factors, the Treasury, his ' associates,' and the subscribers. If he succeeded in convincing the Treasury that Rhode Island was better than Bermuda, he had stilll to convince his teaching staff, who might be willing to spend their lives in Bermuda, but not in Rhode Island. If then he had waited to see what the Treasury would do, he had to reckon with the impatience of some subscribers. On his son Henry, see No. 142n.

144 To NEWMAN

EP ; RBP, page 251.

This and No. 148 are the only surviving letters to Newman, who had done much to further the Bermuda scheme (No. 92n). Berkeley explains precisely his attitude to the proposed transfer of the College from Bermuda to Rhode Island.

If ' Mr Marshall ' is Robert Marshall, his co-heir and co-executor, it is the only instance of direct correspondence ; but Berkeley is not likely to have sent an enclosure for London in a letter to Ireland.

145 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 253

Percival (*RBP*, p. 248) had sent a long account of the philanthropic work of the Parliamentary Committee on gaols. Berkeley had already seen a notice of it in the *Monthly Register* (which I have not been able to find) ; the *Historical Register*, No. LIV, p. 127, has an account of the Committee's work under the Chairmanship of James Oglethorpe, with Lord Percival and twenty-eigth other members ; e.g. on 27 February 1729 the Committee visited the Fleet, examined several prisoners, and studied the case of Sir William Rich, whom the Governor had thrown into chains.

The conveyance (Whipple to Berkeley, *Newport Land Evidence Records*, IX, 10–12) has been published in my *Life*, App. IIIa. Berkeley paid £2,500 for about 96 acres with dwelling-house, stable, and other premises. Whether Whitehall was completely new, or a rebuilding of the house that he bought from Whipple is not certain ; but in No. 146 he writes of the house he has *built* as here of the house he has *bought*. Uncleared lands at a much cheaper price were offered to him by Mr Winthrop, ' a vast landed man,' on the Elizabeth islands between Rhode Island and Martha's Vineyard ; see Allen and McClure, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, pp. 244–6.

Holy Trinity Church, Newport, in which Berkeley often preached, is a handsome building still in regular use (see my *Life*, p. 117 ff., with plates). A number of the sermons, mostly notes, inscribed with date and place, survive in the *Berkeley Papers*, and are printed in this edition, vol. VII, 53–84. These bear out what he here says to Percival about his avoidance of controversial topics. Lodowick Updike (Updike's *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett*, p. 120) when a boy heard Berkeley preach, and has left the following statement : ' Like all really learned men, the Dean was tolerant in religious opinion, which gave him great and deserved popularity with all denominations. All sects rushed to hear him ; even the Quakers with their broad-brimmed hats came and stood in the aisles.'

Several of the sermons are marked as preached ' in the Narragansett country,' that is the mainland due west of Newport, the district now

known as Washington (' the adjacent parts of the continent '). Indians survived in those districts, and no doubt that was why he went ; for his mission was, in part, to that race. From Updike we learn that he often visited Narragansett, and stayed with Dr James McSparran, one of the ablest clergymen sent out by the SPG. From the Indians he heard of tar-water as a specific against smallpox. At this time there was an epidemic of smallpox at Boston, and that may have deterred him from visiting the place ; no doubt, too, he wished to keep out of the local disputes, e.g. the case of Dr Cutler, who lost the rectorship of Yale on becoming an episcopalian, and was at the time trying to secure a seat on the governing body of Harvard ; see the correspondence of Cutler and Grey, J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History . . .*, IV, 289, and *Literary Anecdotes*, II, 546.

146 To PRIOR

Stock, page liv ; LR, page 204

Stock and Monck Berkeley differ here in three readings, and in each case Stock is right, reading (*a*) Messrs (for Mr) James ; (*b*) these four months (as in the postscript) for, for several months ; and (*c*) 1730 (for 1729) in the date. The mention of the baby and of Dean Hamilton's death (see No. 142n) make 1730 certain.

On the Partinton suit and the debts see Nos. 86, 96n. On the birth of Henry and on Finney see No. 142n. McManus (No. 112n) was his agent at Derry ; on Robert Berkeley see No. 25n ; on James and Dalton see No. 136 ; on Smibert, the painter, see No. 116n. Dr Ward was the sub-dean of Derry (No. 105).

147 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 261

The ' profound solitude ' was comparative ; he lived a private life and avoided public questions ; but he was no recluse, and he and his wife had plenty of occupation, and saw not a few visitors.

Percival had mentioned a report that Miss Hancock (see No. 134n) was to marry Smibert.

Berkeley is beginning to despair of receiving the grant, and thinks of the formal agreement with the Treasury (No. 122) as a ' bite,' i.e. trick. ' What were then called bites and bams, since denominated hoaxes and quizzes '—Sir Walter Scott, quoted by O.E.D.

On Clayton, second-in-command of the Bermuda scheme, soon to be Bishop of Killala, see No. 132n ; on Courrayer see No. 137n ; on Dan. Dering see No. 2n.

148 To NEWMAN

ALS Yale; first published 'Yale University Library Gazette' July 1933; see 'Hermathena,' xxiii, 26, 40

In the Parish Room of Trinity Church, Newport, there was a library (in 1933) of old theological books, which may have been Berkeley's gift to Honeyman (see No. 137n). For 'the money you got from Mr Hoare' see the letter from Newman (No. 92n) about the payment for the books, published by Allen and McClure, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 244.

The 'set of men' who use liberty as a cloak for licence are the free-thinkers against whom he had written in the *Guardian* (see No. 27n), and was writing at this moment in his *Alciphron* (cf. No. 151).

149 To PRIOR

Stock, pages lv, lviii; LR, page 215

The original (or the main part) was written 7 May 1730, and despatched at that time, but Berkeley kept a duplicate, in part a paraphrase, and sent it off on 20 July. Both reached Prior and were preserved by him. Stock printed from the original, and Monck Berkeley from the duplicate. There is no substantial difference of reading, and I have followed Monck Berkeley's text.

Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania State, planned and built by William Penn on the peninsula between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers. The population in 1753 was 14,563, in 1940 it was 2,898,664.

The 'pamphlet' enclosed in this expensive packet was Prior's *A List of the Absentees of Ireland* . . ., Dublin 1729, dedicated to Lord Carteret. In the Appendix of the second edition Dean Berkeley's name appears, and his income spent abroad is given as £900. It was an economic issue to both men (not a moral issue), to be remedied by taxation. Prior was farming the Derry glebe for his absentee friend, and Berkeley's criticism of the pamphlet is objective and detached. For Berkeley's views on free trade and 'the spirit of projecting' see his *Querist*, 73, 518, 550, etc.

Berkeley no longer speaks of securing a transfer of the College to America, but is bending all his efforts to obtain the grant for the original scheme. Interested parties in Ireland were concerned about his Deanery, and Berkeley makes his position clear and sends messages to the Northern bishops. The Charter allowed him to hold his preferments at home for eighteen months after his arrival in Bermuda; and as he has not gone to Bermuda, he is fully entitled to remain Dean of Derry. He is in America to execute a design sanctioned by King and Parliament, and he must wait till their pleasure is known. The Bishop of Raphoe was Nicholas Forster, his wife's uncle. The Bishop of Derry was Henry Downs, who was translated from Meath in 1727.

On Clayton see Nos. 132n, 147; on Henry Berkeley see No. 142n; on the suit with Partinton see No. 99n.

150 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 266

This is in answer to Percival's letter of 17 January 1730, published *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, XLII, C 6, p. 105, telling of the banker's difficulty about the purchase of the Annuities, of the peace with Spain, of Clayton's appointment to the Bishopric of Killala, and giving an extract from the *Tribune* ridiculing the Bermuda scheme.

This ' raillery ' draws from Berkeley a masterly summary of the over-all position about the scheme, and though he undoubtedly made mistakes, yet we cannot deny the truth of his words ; King and country were committed to the scheme and ought to have gone through with it. On his disappointment, cf. the opening section of *Alciphron*, written in Rhode Island, in which he refers to the miscarriage of his plan, the ' great loss of time, pains, and expense, ' and reflects on the compensations.

Clayton's elevation to the Bench was a blow to Berkeley ; for Clayton was under some sort of obligation in connection with the Bermuda scheme (No. 132n), and now Archdeacon Benson (No. 139n) is appointed to take over the charge of its interests and property. Dan. Dering (No. 2n) was seriously ill, and his death occurred soon afterwards.

151 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 273

Berkeley has now finally given up hope, and is ready to return to Europe as soon as his wife's health permits. According to Stock, the Bishop of London put the question to Walpole, and received the reply, ' If you put this question to me as a Minister, I must and can assure you that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience ; but if you ask me as a friend whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of £20,000, I advise him by all means to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations.' Percival tells Berkeley that the Speaker personally disapproved of the scheme, but considered that it ought not to be dropped ; the honour of Parliament was involved.

On free-thinking see No. 27n, 148n. Through Dan. Dering (see No. 2n) Berkeley first made the acquaintance of Percival.

152 To JOHNSON

Fraser (LL, p. x) says that he ' recovered ' several letters to Johnson, four from Chandler's ' Life of Johnson ' and the ' rest ' from Mr Gillmann, Librarian of Yale. E. E. Beardsley, ' Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson ' is another source for the letters to Johnson.

On the point of returning home Berkeley sends a farewell letter to the closest and most important of his American friends, Johnson, and

leaves books for Yale, an earnest of the princely donation he was later to send.

Samuel Johnson (1696–1772), pioneer and architect of American higher education. Son of a Congregationalist deacon, he was educated at Saybrook and Yale, and became a tutor there. Ordained in the Congregationalist ministry, he later, along with Cutler, Brown, and Wetmore joined the Church of England. Ordained in England he was appointed minister to Stratford, Conn. in 1724. Interested in Berkeley's philosophy, he wrote letters and paid several visits to Whitehall, and was more or less converted to immaterialism, see his *Elementa Philosophica* 1752, which is dedicated to Berkeley. The two friends corresponded regularly, and Johnson's first two letters (10 Sept. 1729, 5 Feb. 1730) with Berkeley's replies (25 Nov., 24 March) form a contribution to the study of the Berkeleian philosophy, and are given in full in vol. II, 271–94. In 1743 Oxford conferred a D.D. on Johnson ; in 1754 he was elected President of King's College, which became Columbia University ; after nine years there he resigned and resumed his ministry at Stratford.

Boston, the principal port and the capital of Massachusetts. The Berkeleys spent twelve days there on this occasion, and a lively little picture of their stay has been put together by Benjamin Rand in his *Berkeley's American Sojourn*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932. He preached in King's Chapel with great acceptance, and subsequently paid a visit to Harvard.

New Haven on Long Island Sound, second largest city of Connecticut, settled in 1638 ; in 1940 the population was 160,605 ; it is the seat of Yale University. The Collegiate School for Connecticut was chartered in 1701 without any site assigned. It began work at Killingsworth, and held its Commencement exercises at Saybrook. A gift of books from Elihu Yale made building necessary, and in 1716 the school moved to New Haven, adopting the name Yale in 1718 ; see E. Oviatt, *The Beginnings of Yale* (1701–26), 1916.

Nathaniel Kay, Collector of King's Customs in Newport ; he is commemorated by the Kay Chapel of Trinity Church ; on his tombstone in the churchyard may still be read the supplementary inscription : Joining to the south of this tomb lies Lucia Berkeley, daughter of Dean Berkeley, obit 5 Sept. 1731.

153 To JOHNSON

E. E. Beardsley, ' Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson '

Recrossing the Atlantic, Berkeley returned to London and took a house in Green Street. There he waited for preferment ; for without some mark of the royal approval it would have been hard, almost impossible, for him to resume in person the duties of his Derry Deanery. The treatise against Free-thinkers is his *Alciphron or the Minute Philosopher* that he wrote in Rhode Island and published in London early in 1732. There were three editions in the author's lifetime.

Soon after his return he asked the subscribers their wishes as to the money subscribed ; some received their money back ; some wished him to keep it for himself (he declined) ; the majority desired him to fund their subscriptions for the benefit of religion and learning in America. From this Fund, and partly at his own expense, he made the following donations : (*a*) Whitehall and the estate to Yale for the endowment of the Berkeley scholarships that have been awarded there ever since ; (*b*) a large donation of books, 1,000 volumes, to Yale ; (*c*) a smaller gift of books, the Latin Classics, to Harvard ; (*d*) an organ to Newport Church with provision for an organist ; (*e*) several minor gifts.

Whitehall (for a picture see my *Life*, p. 101) with half an acre around it was, in 1900, purchased from Yale on long lease by the Society of Colonial Dames, who ever since have cared for it and preserved it, showing it to visitors, as a public memorial of Berkeley's visit.

Beach was, no doubt, one of those who crossed the Atlantic to receive ordination from the Bishop of London (see No. 109n). A Mr Beach, the Society's missionary at Newtown and Reading, is mentioned in Updike's *History of the Narragansett Church*, p. 464.

Williams to whom No. 159 is addressed, was Rector of Yale. The University has two deeds of conveyance of Whitehall : (*a*) of date 26 July 1732, referred to in this letter, given in full (as transcribed from the Newport Town Records) in my *Life*, App. III ; (*b*) of date 17 August 1733, referred to in No. 162, and published by A. C. Fraser, *LL*, p. 193–4n. The later conveyance gives a more precise designation of the corporation of Yale, and directs that three students (not two) shall benefit annually.

154 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxiv ; LR, page 234

Arbor Hill (Earber-hill, J. T. Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, I, 196), rising ground on the north side of the Liffey, half a mile upstream from O'Connell Bridge. Berkeley never occupied this house ; but evidently he had thoughts of managing his Deanery from Dublin, or of exchanging it for a sinecure, such as the Deanery of Dromore. However hints reached him in the autumn of 1733 that he was being considered for a bishopric. His son George was born in London 28 September 1733. Edmund Leslie graduated B.A. (TCD) in 1709, and Peter Leslie in 1707. On the Partinton suit see No. 86n. The ' pitched battle ' in the Commons probably concerned Walpole's Revenue Scheme.

155 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxiv ; LR, page 240

The admission of dissenters to public offices was of necessity a gradual affair. Berkeley presses Prior for the relevant figures, and is agreeably surprised to find that they are available.

Henry Singleton was appointed Prime Serjeant 22 June 1726, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas of Ireland 11 May 1740.

156 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxv ; LR, page 242

The secret design is evidently to concede political power to dissenters, both Protestant and Papist. See No. 155. On Petit Rose of Portarlington see No. 131. Swift and Co. are Dublin bankers ; on the Partinton law-suit see No. 86n.

157 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxvi ; LR, page 245

Mr Percival is presumably Lord Percival's son, afterwards M.P. for Westminster. The hearth-tax at 2s per hearth was first levied in 1662, and being very unpopular was repealed in 1689 ; it was taken as a basis for estimating population. On the Partinton law-suit see No. 86n.

158 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxvi ; LR, page 230

The ' collectors ' were the collectors of the hearth-tax (No. 157n), on which population estimates were based. On the Oxford ceremony known as the *Act* see No. 34n ; just twenty years previously Berkeley had attended an *Act* and wrote of it with appreciation.

159 To WILLIAMS

This letter and the next three I found in the muniment room of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in copy in Box C 21, vol. 4, p. 32, and published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xlii, C 6, pages 108–10. Three were written on the same day, and all four refer to the donation of books (see No. 153n)

On Newman see No. 92n. The letter is addressed, ' To the Revd. Mr Williams, Rector of Yale College in Newhaven in Connecticut, N.E.' Jonathan Belcher was the Governor of New England. Andrew Belcher appears in the list of alumni of Harvard for 1726.

It was a notable gift, and has been regarded as such for two centuries by Yale. Newman wrote about it to Johnson on 1 June 1733 (*Proc. R.I. Acad.*, XLII, C. 6, p. 110), ' I congratulate you on the noble present of books sent over to Yale College by order of the Rev. Mr. Dean Berkeley in the Dolphin Captain Alden Mar. There are 8 large cases . . . consigned to Messrs. Foy and Belcher at Boston. . . . They were bought from four different booksellers for expedition. . . . As the library of Yale College was in its infant state, he has had the greater regard to their wants.'

Yale was not slow in showing appreciation. Already by August 1733 Berkeley had received a poem composed there in his honour,

and on 12 September 1733 the trustees met, passed a resolution of thanks, and ordered the books to be properly housed. A generation later the Rector described the gift as ' the finest collection of books that ever came together at one time into America.' On Berkeley's death a memorial oration was delivered there in his honour, and he was styled ' generosus ille benefactor et vere Maecenas noster.' The bicentenary of the donation was observed in 1933 by an exhibition of the books and other Berkeleiana which were set out in the Memorabilia Room. I visited the Exhibition ; the books are in fine condition ; they number about 1,000 volumes, and they cover most of the then-recognized branches of learning. A catalogue of them is given in the *Yale University Library Gazette* for 1933.

160 To JOHNSON

On the provenance see No. 159n, where are references to Newman, Belcher, and the donation of books

On the conveyance of Whitehall and on Johnson see No. 153n. Johnson had been on the staff of Yale, but lost his position there on joining the Anglican communion. As a near-by minster he was, however, influential there still, and had some concern with the administration, and Berkeley deals with the chief part of the business through him.

Elliott was a young clergyman who changed his religious denomination along with Johnson, and went to England for ordination. He was one of the study circle that met at Whitehall to study Berkeley's philosophy (see No. 178).

161 To WADSWORTH

On the provenance see No. 159n

Benjamin Wadsworth, President of Harvard 1725–37, gave his name to the Wadsworth House. The tone of the letters is distant, and it does not look as if the two men had met when Berkeley visited Harvard. Details of this visit are known from another source, see B. Rand, *Berkeley's American Sojourn*, p. 47. This letter adds that he had visited the Library, had studied the shelves with a librarian's eye (he had been Librarian in Trinity College), had noted the absence of the Latin classics—which he here makes good.

Another donation of books, to the value of £50, was made by Berkeley to Harvard through the SPG in 1747 (see *Records of the Society* for 10 April). The books were duly sent in 1748, and were acknowledged by President Holyoke on 16 February 1749. On the supposed loss of these books in the fire that destroyed Harvard Hall in 1764 see note on No. 250.

162 To WILLIAMS

On the provenance see No. 159n, where see details about the eight boxes of books donated to Yale ; for the two conveyances to Yale of Whitehall see No. 153n.

163 To PERCIVAL

EP ; RBP, page 290

Headed only with the day of the week, the letter can be approximately dated by the Earldom (of Egmont) conferred on Percival on 6 November 1733 in recognition of his public services, notably in connection with the work of the Committee on Gaols (No. 145n) and the Georgia scheme which grew out of it. Berkeley writes to congratulate his friend on the honour that he was to enjoy for nearly fifteen years.

164 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxvii ; LR, page 246

Prior seems to have proposed to a Northern bishop (Derry, Down, or Dromore) that Berkeley should have some sinecure such as the Deanery of Dromore or the Chancellorship of Connor (united to Down at that time) in exchange for his Deanery of Derry. Whatever the plan, the shadow of an event to come, the bishopric of Cloyne, lay over it, though at one time Berkeley's own desire was for the sinecure and not for the bishopric (see No. 167, ' I had a strong *penchant* to be Dean of Dromore ').

The early-morning mathematics did ' produce something ' ; it produced the *Analyst ; or a discourse addressed to an infidel mathematician*, a work that gave rise to a controversy, fruitful for mathematics itself, and that led to Berkeley's *A Defence of Free-thinking in Mathematics* . . ., and to his *Reasons for not replying*. . . .

McManus, a firm at Derry in charge of the business of his glebe lands, see No. 112n ; on the lawsuit with Partinton see No. 86n, 96n. Montpelier Hill, another name for Arbor Hill (see No. 154n) ; the name was also given to the height in the Dublin mountains on which stand the ruins of the ' Hell Fire Club.'

165 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxvii ; LR, page 249

The first hint that he was being considered for the Bishopric of Cloyne, and the letters from Baron Wainwright, no doubt, were on that theme. Wainwright had interest at Court through his friendship with Mrs Clayton. Three letters of his about Berkeley survive and are printed in Mrs Thomson's *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon*, II, 165–78. Wainwright vouches for Berkeley's loyalty ; Berkeley had written the Latin

inscription for Dublin's statue of the late King ; he had received a gold medal from the present King when, as Prince, he had accepted the office of Chancellor of Dublin University ; ' Forget Bermuda, and he will shine among the clergy . . . by his virtue and learning.'

John Wainwright (d. 1741), Baron of the Exchequer, 1732–41. The Latin inscription on the Wainwright tomb in Chester cathedral was written by Berkeley.

Before he went to America Berkeley frequently went to Court and crossed swords with the great Dr Clarke at Princess Caroline's philosophical salons. As Queen, Caroline preserved her interest in philosophy, and on his return from America she tried to secure for Berkeley the Deanery of Down. Stock indeed says that she often commanded his attendance at Court after his return from America, and the Wainwright letters show him in touch with the Court about his sermon on America preached before the SPG, but his statement here as to the infrequency of his actual attendance at Court must, of course, be accepted. On the house on Arbor Hill see No. 154n.

166 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxviii ; LR, page 222

Berkeley has kissed hands for the Bishopric of Cloyne, and can return to his own country with the mark of royal approval. Kissing hands was a token of feudal allegiance, and came to be regarded as the decisive moment in an appointment.

Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693–1768), Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, LL.D.(Cantab), Lord Chamberlain 1717–21, Secretary of State 1724, First Lord of the Treasury 1754, a devout Churchman and patron of letters ; he consulted Berkeley about tar-water, see No. 246. He received subscriptions for the Bermuda Scheme ; see Nos. 166, 167.

Lionel Cranfield Sackville (1688–1765), first Duke of Dorset, was sent to notify George of the death of Queen Anne ; he assisted at the coronations of both Georges. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1730–6, and again 1750–4 ; see No. 207.

Cary was, no doubt, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. In the College Register for 1734 there is a letter from the Lord Lieutenant to the College signed ' William Cary.'

167 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxviii ; LR, page 223

On the steps leading to his elevation, and his plans for resigning the Deanery and crossing to Ireland. The ' Duke ' is the Duke of Dorset, on whom and the Duke of Newcastle see No. 166n. The ' A.B.D.' is John Hoadly, Archbishop of Dublin, tr. from Ferns and Leighlin 1729, brother of Benjamin, Bishop of Salisbury, who criticized Berkeley's *Alciphron.*

Berkeley had been appointed to the Deanery of Dromore (see No. 73n) by the Crown in 1722, but failed to establish his claim against the Bishop's nominee. As a sinecure it could be held along with his College Fellowship, and was very attractive to a student on that account. He tried to secure it by exchange, it would seem, on his return from America (cf. No. 164n). The Deanery of Down was worth £200 more than Derry, and it fell vacant at the time of his return to England. Queen Caroline nominated him, it is said, but there was strong opposition from Ireland, and Dean Daniel was appointed. A vivid picture of the contest can be read in Percival's Diary (*RBP*, p. 281 ; cf. my *Life*, pp. 155–6).

Cloyne was vacant by the translation of Berkeley's friend, Edward Synge (see No. 102n), to Ferns and Leighlin. On Robert Berkeley see No. 25n. The Speaker means, no doubt, the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, Henry Boyle, who was elected in 1733, and held office till 1756. He was granted the LL.D. *honoris causa* by Trinity College in 1735 ; he was the first Earl of Shannon ; for the succession of the Speakers of Ireland see C. Litton Falkiner, *Essays relating to Ireland*, London 1909, p. 223.

168 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxix ; LR, page 226

On the temporalities of the see of Cloyne (Bishop Bennet's MSS) see W. M. Brady, *Clerical and Parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, 1863, III, I, and the *Pipe Colman*, ed. R. Caulfield, 1859.

The episcopal house, otherwise called the palace, see-house or manse-house, passed into private ownership, as Cloyne House, when Cloyne diocese was united to Cork in 1835. It immediately adjoins the Cathedral grounds and has private access to them. Originally built by the FitzGeralds, it was rebuilt or repaired by Bishop Pooley in 1700 as the episcopal residence, which previously had been in the castle in the centre of the village. Bishop Crow added the north wing in the early eighteenth century ; the wing was destroyed by fire on Christmas day 1887. Bennet in 1796 described it as ' a large, irregular building . . . but altogether a comfortable and handsome residence.' In his day there was a garden of 4 acres and a farm of 400 acres.

For the hazard of the King's death see No. 127 ; on his brother Robert, a Fellow of Trinity College, who managed much of his Irish business, see No. 25n.

169 To PRIOR

ALS in Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39311 ; Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 147

For the house on Montpelier or Arbor Hill which he had proposed to rent or purchase see No. 154n.

170 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxx ; LR, page 229

An amusing pen-picture of the stricken Bishop-elect. He kept most, if not all, the demesne lands in his own hands, and in times of distress employed 100 men in relief work (see *Letter to James*, VII, 155). On Edward Synge, his colleague in Trinity College, and his immediate predecessor at Cloyne, see Nos. 102 and 167.

171 To PRIOR

LR, page 251

The celebrated physician, Dr Arbuthnot (see No. 25n), attended him in earlier life, and may have done so on this occasion ; he died in 1735. On Wainwright see No. 165n.

172 To PRIOR

LR, page 252

The mistake about the Wardenship was of long standing, and is cleared up by the following note in H. Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, IV, 25, ' Chas. Crow, Provost of Tuam, was promoted in 1702 to the bishopric of Cloyne, but retained his Provostship *in commendam* until his death in 1726. His successor, Henry Maule, had the Provostship included by mistake in his patent, because it hath been holden by his predecessor.'

The Rugges were a well-established Co. Cork family. Henry Rugge was Dean of Cloyne in the middle of the seventeenth century. His sons, John and Thomas, appear in *Alumni Dublinenses*, as do also Henry and Pierce, sons of John Rugge, Rector of Ballydonnel, Co. Cork. Henry Rugge entered College in March 1700, a few days before Berkeley.

Youghal, in Co. Cork on the west side of the estuary of the Blackwater, was a Danish settlement, incorporated by King John in 1209. Sir Walter Raleigh was its Mayor in 1588–9, and is said to have cultivated the potato there ; his house is still shown. Youghal's fine church is in the early pointed style of the thirteenth century. John Wesley visited it in 1765 and found it ' half in ruins.' In 1464 it became a Collegiate Church, twelve Cloyne benefices being assigned to its support. The College was suppressed at the Reformation, and the patronage passed to Sir Richard Boyle. In Berkeley's day the wardenship was attached *in commendam* to the bishopric, and the episcopal throne is still shown. Berkeley held an ordination there in September 1741.

On Edward Synge, the translated Bishop of Cloyne, see No. 102n.

Messrs Skipton and Crookshanks seem to have succeeded McManus as farmers of the Derry glebe. On Wainwright see Nos. 165n, 171.

William Lingin (Lingen) was a high official in Dublin Castle for many years. Sheridan (5 April 1736) asks Swift to find out from Lingin whether the letter of the Duke of Dorset to the Lords Justices had arrived. Lingin is named in Vanessa's will.

Dr King who witnessed Berkeley's signature, may well have been James King, his former associate in the Bermuda scheme, who won Fellowship in 1720, and was co-opted Senior Fellow in 1728. Trinity College was in a state of turmoil at this juncture owing to the shooting of Rev. Edward Ford there on 8 March 1734. King may have had to go over to London to represent the College in the matter.

173 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxx

The see of Cloyne had come to be regarded as a stepping-stone ; of Berkeley's eight immediate predecessors *six* had been translated to better sees, and not unnaturally Prior expected Berkeley to be on the look-out for something better. Berkeley had his share of laudable ambition, and even as he rebukes Prior, he shows that he does not expect to end his days at Cloyne ; but he did not aspire to power, place, or money for their own sakes, and though his attitude to preferment is not entirely consistent, he set a fine example in his day, and it is certain that when Chesterfield offered him the valuable see of Clogher, he refused it (see my *Life*, pp. 214–15). Henry Downes, Bishop of Derry 1727–35, was succeeded by Thomas Rundle in 1735 (see No. 139n).

On Youghal see No. 172n. Aghada (Upper and Lower) lies some three miles SW. of Cloyne towards Cork harbour. Berkeley was appointed bishop of Cloyne with the union of Aghada *in commendam* by King's Licence dated 18 January 1734 and by patent of 3 March 1734, and was consecrated on 19 May 1734 in St Paul's Church, Dublin by the Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by the bishops of Raphoe and Killaloe.

A *fine* in feudal law is a fee paid by the tenant to the landlord on some alteration in the tenancy ; it is distinct from rent ; e.g. fines might be paid to secure low rent.

Stephen's Green was a fashionable centre of Dublin life at the period ; fine Georgian houses still stand there. Wainwright had a house there (see No. 175). Only once, or possibly twice, in the nineteen years of his episcopate, so far as we know, did Berkeley come up to Dublin ; a town house would have been of little use to him.

Berkeley must have sat for his portrait almost certainly before he left London. The Vanderbank and the Lambeth portraits belong to the early days of the episcopate ; see Iconography appended to my *Life*, especially on Nos. 5 and 6.

174 To PRIOR

LR, page 232

Prior's business was concerned with a Bill dealing with the assets of two Dublin banks ; for particulars see No. 179n and Nos 176, 177. Berkeley is prepared to speak to four Privy Councillors : Charles Talbot, Baron Talbot of Hensol (1685–1737), Fellow of All Souls, eldest son of William, Bishop of Oxford, Salisbury and Durham, Lord Chancellor 1733.

Compton Spencer, Earl of Wilmington (1673 ?–1743), third son of the Earl of Northampton, Speaker 1715 and 1727, favourite of George II.

Philip Yorke (see No. 139n) ; he prosecuted Lager, the Jacobite, and took part in the proceedings against Atterbury, and conducted other famous cases, a strong Churchman, and of outstanding ability ; his approval of the Bermuda Petition led to the grant of the Charter. In 1737 he succeeded Talbot as Chancellor, ' the only person in the kingdom capable of filling that post ' (Benson to Berkeley, Fraser, *LL*, p. 251

Sir Joseph Jekyll (1663–1738), Master of the Rolls (1717), King's Serjeant, he opened the case against Sacheverell ; he was opposed to state lotteries and stage plays. Pope wrote of him,

> Jekyll or some odd old Whig,
> who never changed his principle or wig.

175 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxii ; LR, page 255

Stock dates the letter 13 March. On McManus and the first year's payment to the curates see No. 118n. On Coghill see No. 19n. The library taken to America consisted of fifty-eight boxes, see No. 133. On Wainwright see Nos. 165n, 173n.

The Lord Lieutenant was the Duke of Dorset (No. 166n) who with his Duchess left Dublin for England on 1 May when Berkeley was one day out on his journey from St Albans. Berkeley had not been to Dublin since his brief visit there in June 1728. William Street, now St Andrew's Street, was named from King William, McCready, *Dublin Street Names*, 1892. For ' the other side the water ' cf. No. 24n. It means on the north side of the river Liffey.

176 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxii ; LR, page 236

On the payment for the curates at Derry see Nos. 118n, 175. Messrs Skipton and Crookshanks and Messrs McManus seem both to have been concerned in the farming of the Derry glebe (Nos. 154, 172). Swift

and Co. were Dublin bankers. On the bill against the heirs of Burton and Harrison see Nos. 174, 177, 179. On the Lord President, the Earl of Wilmington, see No. 174n.

Berkeley approached the difficult question of patronage with his usual high principle, and he remembers his Rhode Island friends. Marmaduke Cox, son of Dr Cox, Vicar of St Peter's Drogheda, and Dean of Ferns (1694–1719), was licensed in 1736 to the curacy of Inniscarra, Cloyne, and held various livings in that diocese, dying in 1762 ; see W. M. Brady, *Records*, II, 147. On Helsham and the money advanced to defend Thomas Berkeley see Nos. 117n, 234.

177 To PRIOR

LR, page 258

On Roberts and the Harrison case see No. 174n. On the Duke of Newcastle see No. 166n. Robert Berkeley (see No. 25n) who married Anne Elizabeth Dawson in 1734, having resigned his Fellowship in 1732, was active in his brother's interest at this juncture. Dr Coghill (No. 175) had been asked to secure the admission of the library free of duty.

178 To JOHNSON

Presumably one of the letters that Fraser ' recovered ' (see LL, pages x, 221)

Johnson (see No. 153n) had written to ask whether the Whitehall funds could be used to provide a Berkeley Scholar at Yale every year, and whether the books might be lent to non-members ; he had also raised some points about Berkeley's books and recent criticisms. Browne had criticized *Alciphron*, Baxter the *Principles*, and an anonymous writer had attacked the *Essay on Vision.*

On Peter Browne, Bishop of Cork and Ross, 1710–35 see No. 17n. Berkeley in his *Alciphron*, Dial. IV, SS. 17 ff. had severely criticized the theology of Browne's *Procedure* (1728), saying that it denied the attributes of God and, in effect, denied His being. Browne, like his friend William King (see No. 8n), had been driven by the Predestination controversies into something like agnosticism. King, in a famous sermon, had said that God no more has thought and will than He has hands and feet. Browne does not go so far ; but taking his stand on the text ' My thoughts are not your thoughts,' he argued that thought and will and knowledge and other attributes mean one thing when applied to God and another thing when said of man, contending that there is a vast difference between knowing these values metaphorically and knowing them analogically. This doctrine, says Berkeley, is ' cutting knots and not untying them,' and issues in making God ' an unknown subject of attributes absolutely unknown.' In answer to these criticisms Browne added 200 ineffective pages to Chapter viii of his *Divine Analogy.*

Andrew Baxter in 1733 published *An Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul.* His argument takes matter very seriously, and rests the

proof of the existence of God on the inertia of material substance. He devotes a long section in his second volume to a refutation of Berkeley —a stupid refutation, as stupid as Dr Johnson's, a refutation of views that Berkeley did not hold, a refutation that confuses the denial of material substance with the denial of the world of sense. Baxter pretends that Berkeley is ' persuaded that he has neither country nor parents nor any material body, nor eats, nor drinks nor lyes in a house, but that all these things are mere illusions, and have no existence, but in the fancy.' This is a caricature of Berkeley's immaterialism. Baxter makes no attempt to understand the teaching of the *Principles* ; his book was not worth powder and shot, and Berkeley was right not to notice it ; his words ' very little read,' however, though true of Browne, and, no doubt, true of Baxter at the time of writing, were to some extent falsified by the event ; for Baxter's book reached a third edition in 1745.

Johnson's reference to the *Essay on Vision* gave occasion for Berkeley's only extant mention of his *The Theory of Vision . . . vindicated and explained* (1734). This masterly little tract was overlooked by Stock, and was virtually forgotten for a century. Berkeley wrote it in answer to an anonymous letter in the *Daily Post-boy*, 9 September 1732, that praised the *Alciphron* but censured the appended *Essay on Vision*. It is a significant little work for those who read it carefully ; for in it Berkeley answers his critic and explains the theory, but goes farther and amplifies the tentative, provisional part so as to bring it into full accord with the full immaterialism of the *Principles* ; see my *Life*, p. 161 and vol. 1 of the *Works*, pp. 245–8.

Mr Williams is Elisha Williams, Rector of Yale ; Elliott was one of the young divinity students who visited Berkeley in Rhode Island, see No. 160n.

179 To PRIOR

LR, page 261

Particulars of this Bill (see also Nos. 174, 176, 177) can be found in the *Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland*, *sub* date, vol. IV, Bill for the Relief of the creditors of the Bank lately kept by Samuel Burton and David Falkiner . . . and of the creditors of the Bank lately kept by Benjamin Burton and Francis Harrison. The Bill passed its various stages in Dublin in December 1733, and was sent to the Lord Lieutenant 18 January 1734. It was read in the English House of Commons 25 April, in Committee 26 April ; for the third time 27 April, and agreed to by the Lords 29 April 1734 (N.B. These dates are N.S., and Berkeley's O.S., and they correspond exactly) ; see p. 110 for a Petition against the Bill ; and pp. 114, 116, 123 for Amendments in Committee.

180 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxiii ; LR, page 262

Berkeley has left London and writes from St Albans, Herts., twenty miles NW. of the capital. St Albans was Verulamium in Roman times ; in 1066 was built its famous Abbey church on the model of St Stephen's, Caen. He had hopes of shipping his books direct to Cork, but finds now that he must ship them to Dublin. Ships were often known by the name of their skipper. The reference to Parliament (cf. No. 185) looks as if he had intended to take his seat in the House of Lords before the adjournment. St Albans to Chester took five days by private coach, *via* Coventry. Chester on the Dee, an outpost of the Roman Empire, formerly a seaport ; in the fourteenth century the channel gradually silted up ; the channel was restored in the eighteenth century, and for a time Chester had a flourishing trade in Irish linen. The ' Duke ' is the Duke of Dorset, the Lord Lieutenant, who left Dublin for London just when Berkeley was leaving London for Dublin (see No. 175n). Gervais Street is now spelled Jervis Street, off Great Britain Street, named after Sir Humphrey Jervis, Sheriff 1674. The ' two young children ' were Henry aged five years, and George aged about one and a half years.

181 To ARCHBISHOP HOADLY

ALS in the archives of the Diocesan Office, Dublin, in the bundle recently numbered 150, concerned with the revenues of the Vicars-Choral of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin

The interval of eleven months between this letter and the last represents an almost final change of scene. We left Berkeley on the outskirts of London *en route* for Dublin, and now here he is, writing from Cloyne in his homely palace or see-house, ' ringed with limes and elms, chestnut trees and copper-beech.' He and his family had made their way to Chester in their coach and six, and there, or at Holyhead, they took ship for Dublin, which they reached in the first week of May. On 19 May Berkeley was consecrated Bishop in St Paul's Church, Dublin, by his Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Cashel, Theophilus Bolton. He seems to have spent four or five weeks in Dublin, finding time to print and publish there his *Analyst*, and to make notable benefactions to Trinity College, his *alma mater*. Then he and his family took to the coach again, and made their way southward through Naas and, perhaps, Kilkenny, his birthplace, over the Knockmealdown or the Comeragh mountains, till they came in sight of the south coast and the Atlantic ocean. Thence down the valley of the Blackwater or through historic Youghal, the eastern gateway of his diocese, to the high-road to Cork ; at Midleton they would leave the high-road, and strike due south through leafy lanes, passing Ballynacorra, till they came within sight of the Round Tower and the battlemented Cathedral of the small town of Cloyne, where the Bishop was to spend eighteen or nineteen years, leaving it for Oxford in the last year of his life.

John Hoadly (1678-1746), brother of Bishop Benjamin Hoadly, was appointed Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns in 1727, and was translated to Dublin in 1730, and to the Primacy of all Ireland (Archbishopric of Armagh) in 1742. Other correspondence in the bundle shows that the Archbishop was conducting an inquiry as to the revenues of the Vicars-Choral of St Patrick's, who formed a body-corporate in pre-disestablishment days. In the Parliamentary Blue-book of 1868 their total revenue is given as £904, derived from local properties, such as are described in this letter.

Impropriation was a technical term for the holding by a layman of ecclesiastical tithes, he providing a vicar to perform the ecclesiastical duties; it was also used for the holding of ecclesiastical tithes by a corporate body.

As to the place-names, Ballihay is now Ballyhea, which was, and is, a prebend of Cloyne. Templebodane is Templeboden, a parish now forming part of Midleton parish, five miles from Cloyne; the church has disappeared. Carigleamleary is the derelict parish of Carrigeamleary, now part of Mallow. Killalay is Killeagh, near Youghal. I have not been able to trace Temple-Robin.

182 To SMIBERT

From the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. 101 (1831), page 99

On John Smibert, the portrait painter who accompanied Berkeley to America, see No. 116n. The letter failed to bring him back, and he died at Boston in 1751 after, it would seem, a successful artistic career. The query form of the letter should be noted; no doubt at the time Berkeley was engaged on the remarkable study in Irish politics and economics and the theory of money, that he published under the title the *Querist*, in three parts, 1735–7. His *Analyst* (1734) closes with sixty-seven queries; for comment on the query form see my *Life*, pp. 194–6.

Boston, the capital city of Massachusetts, at the head of the Massachusetts Bay, occupied originally about 700 acres, now increased to 28,000 acres with a population in 1940 of over 700,000. Cork, centred on the island formed by the two arms of the river Lee, had in 1936 a population of 80,765; it has a fine natural harbour and trades principally with Bristol and South Wales. Berkeley's comparison is of interest in retrospect, making Cork 'four times as populous and a hundred times as rich' as Boston.

The luxuriant vegetation of Cloyne is still remarkable; the myrtles of the see-house garden are mentioned again in No. 186, and I myself have seen a myrtle there, said to have been planted by Berkeley.

His son John, born at Cloyne, was baptized there 11 April 1735, and was buried there 16 October in the same year.

183 To JOHNSON

On the provenance of letters to Johnson see No. 152n

Berkeley's interest in American higher education remained with him for life. Yale became, to some extent, his foster-child, taking the place of the College of his dreams, St Paul's College, Bermuda. He received regular reports from Johnson on its academic progress. Johnson's sons distinguished themselves there ; his son William later came to England and became a friend and correspondent of George, the Bishop's son.

Himself a strong Churchman, Berkeley was by no means narrow in his outlook and sympathies, and in Rhode Island he went out of his way to conciliate dissent. The ' Society ' is the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which supported, or assisted resident ' missionaries ' in holy orders, such as Johnson at Stratford, Honeyman in Rhode Island, and McSparran at Narragansett.

184 To TAYLOR

EP, vol. 112 ; Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 147

William Taylor, agent for Viscount Percival's estates near Charleville, had written to the Bishop asking for the erection and endowment of a Chapel of Ease at Kanturk ; he also wrote about it to the Earl of Egmont, see my *Life*, p. 174, and cf. W. M. Brady, *Records*, II, 241–2. A chapel of ease is one built for the convenience of parishioners who live at a distance from the parish church. A sinecure is : (*a*) a benefice without cure of souls ; or (*b*) the income derived from such a benefice.

185 To JOHNSON

On the provenance of letters to Johnson see No. 152n

A tragic little note on Arnold in Updike's *History of the Narragansett Church*, p. 163, gives the following facts, ' The Rev. Jonathan Arnold, graduated at Yale College in 1723, was a Congregational minister of the Church at West Haven, Conn. In 1734 he became an Episcopalian, and in 1736 went to England for Orders. On his return from England in 1737 he was appointed a missionary, and stationed at West Haven, Derby and Waterbury, at which places he officiated until 1739, when he sailed for England and was lost on the voyage.'

Newhaven, i.e. Yale. On Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, see No. 139n. Berkeley had evidently intended to go up to Dublin and take his seat in the House of Lords, but he was not able to carry out his intention till the autumn of 1737 (cf. No. 180n).

186 To JAMES

The 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 101 (1831), page 99

Berkeley's companion on the outward voyage, John James, stayed in Boston with Dalton when the Berkeleys returned, and the friends lost touch for three or four years. In 1736 James succeeded to the baronetcy, and returned from America about that time. He did not enjoy his title (Sir John James of Bury St Edmunds) for long, and he died 28 September 1741. He did not marry, and he would have left his money to Berkeley, it is said, had not Berkeley forbidden him to do so.

Not long before his death Sir John had thoughts of joining the Church of Rome, and Berkeley wrote a long disquisition on the Roman controversy to dissuade him. A draft or copy is preserved in the Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39306, f. 19; it was first published by J. S. M. Anderson in 1850. Being in the main doctrinal, in this series it is included with the sermons in vol. VII, pp. 141–55.

Imokilly, the third most valuable barony in Co. Cork, contains the most fertile and prosperous part of the diocese of Cloyne. Chas. Smith in 1750 described it as 'a pleasant fertile tract, neither incumbered with mountains, nor entirely a level; but for the greatest part consisting of two fair valleys, one extending from Cork harbour to the sea, and the other running parallel to it, being a pleasant vale extending from Middletown to Youghal.' *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Cork*, I, 107; see also *The Barony of Imokilly*, Proceedings of the Cork Archaeological Society, 1945.

The little harbour of Rostellan, that looks across the bay to Cobh, is only two miles from Cloyne, and in those days one could take ship there for Bristol. On the road to Rostellan lies Castle Mary, the home of the Longfields, where trees and shrubs exemplify that luxuriant growth of which Berkeley writes. On the myrtles see No. 182n, and Bishop Bennet's letter to Parr (*Works*, VII, 106–9), that mentions a winding walk nearly a quarter of a mile long adorned 'by a hedge of myrtles, six feet high, planted by Berkeley's own hand.' Note the apt quotation from Horace, *Odes*, II, 6.

187 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxiii; LR, page 265. At the end of the extract Stock has the note, 'Enclosed in the above a Letter to A. B. Esq. from the Querist, containing Thoughts on a national bank, printed in the Dublin Journal'

Stock does not print the letter. Monck Berkeley prints it with the covering letter, and Fraser reproduces it in his *Life and Letters*, pp. 248–9. There is no reason to doubt Stock's statement that it appeared in the *Dublin Journal*, but I have not been able to verify it, as no copies of the *Journal* for April 1737 are available in our public libraries. I found the letter, however, in both *Pue's Occurrences* and the *Dublin Newsletter* in the issues 2/5 April 1737. The text printed in the news-

papers differs widely from that given by Monck Berkeley and Fraser ; there are additions of substance, e.g. the inspectors are to visit four times a year instead of twice ; and the phrasing has been altered in almost every paragraph. My first thought was that different texts went to the different newspapers ; but on reflection I think *that* unlikely, and I suggest the following explanation, tentatively advanced.

The covering letter tells Prior to publish the enclosure in ' one or more of our newspapers,' but not till a week after the appearance of the Third Part of the *Querist*, the basis of the public letter ; and if Prior has any objection, he is to write by return. The letter from which Monck Berkeley printed was the original autograph sent in the first letter. Prior had some ' objections,' and sent the letter back to Cloyne. Berkeley made the alterations and sent the original form and the revised back to Prior. Prior put away the original in his papers (where after his death Archdale found it and gave it with the other Prior letters to Monck Berkeley), and sent the revised form to the three Dublin newspapers, who all printed it.

Dublin banking was in a shaky condition, and the middle of the century saw a financial crisis and several failures. Berkeley's public letter was meant to drive home the teaching on the need for a national Bank, and the ways and means of establishing it, contained in the third Part of the *Querist*. His key thought is, ' A Bank wherein there are no sharers, would be free from all the evils of stock-jobbing. A Bank whereof the public makes all the profit, and therefore makes good all deficiencies, must be most secure. Such a Bank, prudently managed, would be a mine of gold in the hands of the public.'

Here we meet a new aspect of Berkeley's many-sided nature. Here is Berkeley the economist. The quiet of Cloyne gave him the opportunity of developing his long-standing interest in the theory of money and economics in general. He simplified physics by getting rid of the bogey of material substance, and he would simplify economics by getting rid of the bogey of the gold standard.

The *Querist*, original in form and matter, was an important and seminal work on political economy that won for Berkeley in his own country recognition as an Irish patriot, and throughout the world recognition as a pioneer in economic theory ; he was ' a fore-runner of Adam Smith in the transition from mercantilism to a more rational economic creed,' *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, II (1930), 523. The special needs of Ireland are in view throughout, and the work contains many wise suggestions for Irish industrial development.

The bibliography of the *Querist* is difficult and confusing, see vol. VI, pp. 89 ff. Originally it came out in three independent, anonymous parts—Part I (the words do not occur) was advertised as ' just published ' in the *Dublin Evening Post*, 9 December 1735 ; it contained Queries 1–317. Part II, Queries 1–254 came out in 1736 ; Part III, Queries 1–324 came out at the time this letter was written, March 1737. There was a London reprint of the three parts by J. Roberts in the same years, 1735–7 ; cf. Percival's *Journal* for 27 May 1736 (*RBP*, p. 293), ' I also sent Bishop Berkeley's second part of Queries

to Mr Richardson (*sic*) to be reprinted.' A 'second edition' came out in 1750 with substantial additions and omissions, containing 595 queries, consecutively numbered; this went to six or more editions in 1750–2, some with the addition of *A Word to the Wise*. The *Miscellany* has this form of the *Querist*, with a change in one query. There are posthumous editions, and of special interest is the MS in Berkeley's handwriting, headed *The Irish Patriot, or Queries upon Queries*, now in the National Library of Ireland. For Lord Chesterfield's copy of the *Querist* see No. 230. Was it one of the six copies here ordered, covered with marbled (i.e. variegated) paper?

Dr Samuel Madden (see No. 132n), who 'edited' the work, i.e. saw it through the press, was a lifelong friend of Berkeley.

Earl Balfour in his Introduction to Sampson's edition of the *Works* has paid tribute to the *form* of the *Querist*, asking by what literary arts 595 disconnected queries 'can even be made readable. Yet readable it certainly is; and not only readable, but impressive.' I have attempted an answer to Balfour's question about the *form* in my *Life*, p. 195. The general interest of the subject-matter and its variety is a large part of the answer; the queries differ much in tone and stress, some expecting the answer, Yes, some expecting the answer, No, and some simply designed to make the reader think. Then there are the pith and point and latent humour of many of the queries, and the unfailing music and varied cadence of the writing. The query form came easily to Berkeley; he had practised it all his life; there is much of it in his *Philosophical Commentaries*, and it appears in his publications, notably the *Analyst* (1734).

The spinning school and the house of work for vagrants and the tillage show the spirit of the *Querist* in action at Cloyne; cf. No. 197 and theconclusion of his letter to Sir John James (vol. VII, p. 155). 'Your Society' is the Dublin Society, now the Royal Dublin Society, of which Prior was the first Secretary; see the contemporary Dublin newspapers for evidence of the Society's unremitting efforts to benefit industry, agriculture, and trade. The 'English bishop' is Martin Benson of Gloucester, and his actual letter is preserved in the Brit. Mus. Add. MS 39311; it is dated from St James' Street, 1 March 1737, and mentions 'an unhappy contest between the King and Prince about settling an allowance for the latter.'

188 To ECLES

ALS now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; found by me in a Dublin bookshop and published Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C. 4, page 148. Addressed To Henry Ecles Esqre at Lismore or in his absence to the park-keeper

An interesting little comment on the social side of an episcopal visitation in the eighteenth century. The Chapter Book of Cloyne has a good deal to say about Berkeley's annual visitation. At first, as in this case, he held it on the first Wednesday in September; but after 1739 he changed the date, at the request of the Chapter, to

a Wednesday in June. His Primary Visitation Charge exists in manuscript in the *Berkeley Papers*, MS 39306; see vol. VII in this series, pp. 159–67.

Lismore, market-town and diocesan centre in Co. Waterford; on a hill rising steeply from the Blackwater; in Lismore Castle Henry II received the allegiance of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland.

On Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, see No. 73n.

189 TO AN OFFICIAL OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

ALS in the muniment room of Trinity College, Dublin; first published 'Hermathena,' xxiii, 42; it is endorsed 'Bishop of Cloyne's letter 14th September 1737 about the survey of Rathcoursey in the County of Cork'

Surveying could be invidious work—the prelude to eviction, rent-increase, or the division of land. Here the local landlord seems to have been opposed to the survey.

By 'Your Society' Berkeley means Trinity College, in which he took a keen interest all his life. The letter was written, no doubt, to the Bursar or the Registrar, almost all the Fellows in those days being in Holy Orders.

190 To JOHNSON

On the provenance of the letters to Johnson see No. 152n

The only extant letter during the episcopate *not* written at Cloyne. Berkeley had gone to Dublin for the meeting of Parliament. On 2 November 1737 Berkeley was introduced by the Bishops of Kildare and Cork, and took his seat as one of the Lords Spiritual. The session lasted from 3 October to 23 March, and Berkeley attended for twenty-nine days, and, according to Stock, he spoke once, viz. on the Blasters, the speech being received with applause. On Berkeley's long continued interest in Yale see Nos. 153n, 159n.

191 To EVANS

'The following letter which was given to me by the present Archdeacon (Evans) of Cloyne, was addressed by the Bishop to Colonel Thomas Evans of Milltown, near Charleville, whose daughter was married to Dean Bruce's son.' W. M. Brady, Records, iii, 118; ib. ii, 38–9 and elsewhere for particulars of Dean Bruce

Jonathan Bruce (1681–1758), grandson of Sir Andrew Bruce of Earlshall, Scotland, whose son was taken prisoner by the Parliamentarians at the battle of Worcester, and settled in Bandon in 1654. Jonathan entered Trinity College in 1699, Scholar 1702, B.A. 1703; Curate of Kilbolane 1709, held other cures including Ballyhay; from 1724 till his death at Charleville in 1758 he was Dean of Kilfenora.

192 To GERVAIS

Stock, page lxxxix

From this time on Isaac Gervais corresponds regularly with Berkeley, and he receives some of the lightest and brightest of the Bishop's letters, and the two friends were soon on very intimate terms.

Isaac Gervais (1680–1756), of Huguenot descent, born in the year of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was carried as an infant from his home in Montpelier ; he was Vicar-choral at Lismore in 1708, Prebendary of Lismore 1713, Dean of Tuam 1744 ; he was buried at Lismore ; for his testimony to the value of tar-water see Prior's *Authentick Narrative*, p. 67.

193 To PRIOR

LR, page 272

This letter contained the first mention of tar-water and of those experiments that three years later were destined to make Berkeley's name known to many who had never heard of his philosophy or of his mission to America. The tar-water episode must be read in its context and seen in perspective ; otherwise it will appear as a passing craze of an impulsive philanthropist. In fact it was nothing of the sort ; it was an extension of public spirit to public health, part of a collective attempt to raise the standards of Irish life and to relieve suffering in a situation which we today find it hard to picture. There were no health services then ; there was no Department of Public Health. One or two hospitals had recently been built in Dublin by private benefaction ; the provinces had none ; there was not a doctor, nor nurse, in Cloyne. The winter 1739–40 had been severe ; there was skating on the Shannon ; the long frost was followed by famine and plague, and the thoughts of the Querist and of other philanthropists turned to the sick and suffering poor. For centuries the religious houses dispensed medicines and treatment, and after the dissolution of the monasteries the great houses continued to some extent the tradition of therapy, and in times of epidemic it was natural for folk to look to the mansion and manse and palace, and for a bishop to doff his lawn sleeves and experiment in medicine was not out of keeping with his cloth and calling. Faulkner, the editor of the *Dublin Journal*, ' the governor of the Governors of Ireland ' conducted a medical column, so to speak, in his paper ; encouraged by Prior and Madden and the other promoters of the Dublin Society, he begged his readers to furnish him with particulars of recipes and specifics that might be of general use. Particulars of various family remedies were published in response to the appeal ; but in many cases the ingredients were rare or costly or dangerous or untried, and Berkeley was looking for a cheap, safe remedy that rich and poor alike could keep in their houses and use with confidence with a prospect of benefit in a wide range of maladies.

In finding tar-water, that is what he found ; he provided a cure in which many found relief, and if in the circumstances of the day, the cure was raised to the rank of panacea for a time, who could wonder ?

Berkeley writes very calmly here ; there is no magic in the tar ; but he thinks it might purify the blood-stream, and turn the crisis of a fever, and perfect the cure ; he is making inquiries, is experimenting, and will report later. Three years later after research and experiment on himself and his family and friends and neighbours he published his *Siris*, and committed himself to the public advocacy of a general medicine, now in the pharmacopeia, the tar-water. In the meantime he had seen provinces decimated, villages dispeopled, and the poor dying like flies at his very gates ; how could he keep silence ?

Flux was an early name for dysentery ; a *phlegmon* or *felon* is an inflammatory tumour, a *clyster*, a purge. The resin that Berkeley here advocates for dysentery is a secretion of pines and firs, and is connected with tar-water. The mention of the two looms looks as if the spinning-school (No. 187) had expanded into a weaving-school. Prior's visits to Cloyne became almost an annual fixture, see No. 197. For the French book see No. 197n.

194 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxiv ; LR, page 274

This was an anxious time for the Dublin banks ; there were several failures and in the end only three weathered the storm, viz. La Touche, Finlay and Gleadowe (i.e. Swift and Co.). Henry's bank is mentioned in *Swift's Correspondence*, VI, 98. Berkeley for years had done most of his business with Swift and Co. On the flux and Berkeley's interest in medicine see No. 193n.

195 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxiv ; LR, page 276

On Berkeley's experiments in therapy see No. 193n. The bark, i.e. Jesuits' bark (No. 73), quinine.

196 To CLARKE

Found by Hone and Rossi (see their ' Bishop Berkeley,' page 243n) among the Monck ' Mason Papers ' in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. First published ' Hermathena, ' xxiii (1933) 43

It is a copy of an autograph letter that once belonged to a Mrs Smith. The letter was written to Dr Henry Clarke, Senior Fellow TCD. and later Vice-Provost. On 18 April 1741 the Board gave Dr Clarke leave of absence in England for five months, and he had evidently written to Berkeley for introductions at Lambeth, Oxford and Cambridge.

But for this letter we should not have known that Berkeley visited Cambridge ; he went there, perhaps, in the autumn of 1725, when he toured eight or nine counties of England, including Norfolk. He visited Oxford in June 1713, staying for about two months (see No. 34n). He returned there in August 1752, and died there in the following January.

The office of Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University had been held for twenty years by Dr John Stearne, Bishop of Clogher, a munificent benefactor of the College. He was evidently thinking of retiring ; he was succeeded in 1743 by the Primate, Dr John Hoadly.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was John Potter (1674 ?–1747) ; a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Divinity ; a Whig in politics, he was appointed Bishop of Oxford, and in 1737 he became Archbishop ; he was a classical scholar and a writer on classical subjects.

197 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxvi ; LR, page 278

For the dysentery epidemic and the attempts at cure on which Berkeley and Prior were engaged see No. 193n. T. Morgan published *Physico-Theology or a Philosophico-Moral Disquisition concerning Human Nature, Free Agency, Moral Government and Divine Providence*, London 1741.

Jean Bouillet (1690–1777), a French physician ; his many publications include *Sur la manière de traiter la petite vérole*, 1733 (smallpox).

For the seed, flax and hemp, distributed by the Dublin Society to aid the relief works at Cloyne see No. 187n. Berkeley draws a distressing picture of the mortality and sickness, which is borne out by the Dublin newspapers of the day.

Sir Richard Cox (1650–1733), Justice of the Common Pleas, and later Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was succeeded in his title by his grandson of the same name (1702–66). His seat was at Dunmanway, Co. Cork ; he established a linen factory there, and corresponded with Prior about it.

Sir John and ' Mrs ' Rawdon are mentioned in Nos. 40, 42 and 45 as Prior's friends. The first baronet was Sir George Rawdon (1604–84), M.P. for Carlingford. The Sir John of this letter was, presumably, grandson of Sir George ; he entered Trinity College 6 September 1736, was awarded the LL.D. (*h.c.*) 1753, F.R.S. ; created Baron Rawdon 1750, and Earl of Moira 1762. Berkeley's epigram means that if Sir John won the seat, he would leave Ireland and settle in England.

Prior paid a visit every summer to his estates in Rathdowney, and then usually came on to Cloyne ; hence ' an annual right in you ' ; for a picture of his trip to Killarney with the Berkeleys shortly before his death, see Cooley's letter in my *Life*, p. 212.

The Partinton case was in connection with Vanessa's estate (see No. 98n) ; it had been running on for twenty years at least.

198 To DALTON

This letter and the next four (Nos. 198–202) are unaddressed, unsigned letters or copies in Berkeley's handwriting, all contained on the two leaves, now ff. 24–5 of Add. MS 39306 in the British Museum; whether they were actually sent we do not know. Fraser (LL, pp. 266–9) published the first three; the other two were published by me in 'Hermathena,' xxiii, 45. Nos. 198, 199, 200 and 202 are semi-humorous compositions in praise of marriage, occasioned by a letter from Sir John James telling of Dalton's third marriage. From internal evidence it is certain that No. 198 was to Dalton, and almost certain that Nos. 200 and 202 were to Sir John James and Bishop Benson respectively. No. 199 may well have been to Wolfe, as Fraser suggested. To the addressee of No. 201 I have found no clue. As to date, they must be considerably later than the autumn of 1738, when Berkeley's daughter Julia was born.

Richard Dalton (see No. 134n) and Sir John James (see Nos. 134n and 200n) accompanied the Berkeleys to America, and stayed on in Boston for some years after the Dean returned home. Berkeley had lost touch with them and had written to Benson for news of them, but meantime he had heard from James of Dalton's third marriage, and he here writes his congratulations.

Jus trium uxorum, a humorous reference to the *Jus trium liberorum* that conferred privileges in ancient Rome on families with three children.

Mr Wolfe has not been precisely identified, but there is little doubt that he was a relative of the hero of Quebec and of the Berkeleys. According to Eliza Berkeley (Preface to Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, p. ccclxxii) the Bishop's mother was 'aunt to old General Wolfe, father of the famous General.' From the latter's published letters (*Life and Letters of James Wolfe*, by B. Willson, 1909, see especially p. 201), we know that the famous general as a young man in 1752 had visited an old uncle of the same name in Dublin, and then went south and sailed from Cork to Bristol just about the same time that Berkeley made the same voyage, and it is quite possible that they made it together, or that Wolfe had been to Cloyne. For on the death of the Bishop a few months later, Wolfe in a letter from Paris to his father comments on the event as if he had recently seen the Bishop, and as if there were a family connection. In No. 202 Berkeley describes this Mr Wolfe as 'a grave, regular man,' and says that he is trying to make him a convert to marriage—which is evidence that No. 199 was, as suggested by Fraser, written to Wolfe.

Berkeley's three sons were Henry, George and William, and the daughter was Julia, baptized at Cloyne 15 October 1738, known to have been with her mother in 1756, said to have died unmarried; see my *Life*, App. I.

199 To [WOLFE]

See No. 198n for what is known about this letter and the reasons for thinking it was addressed to Wolfe. The recipient was evidently the godfather of George, the Bishop's second son, afterwards Canon of Canterbury. I have not found the source of the statement about Plato.

200 To [JAMES]

A letter from Sir John James evoked this quartet (see No. 198n) by telling Berkeley of his friends' return from abroad and of Dalton's third marriage ; this is, almost certainly, Berkeley's reply to James ; note the friendly opening, the Latin quotation (from Horace, *Epp.* 1, 2, 8, James was a Latin scholar), the invitation to Cloyne, cf. No. 186n, and ' Mr. Dalton who, I expected, was abroad with you.'

Trajet (also traject), a crossing. On the devastations from dysentery in southern Ireland, see No. 197n. Bath, on the Avon in Somerset, had its golden age in the eighteenth century ; it has been called ' the most nobly placed and best built city in England.' Its baths were known in Roman days.

201 To [*Addressee Unknown*]

A cordial invitation to two persons to stay at the Palace at Cloyne, see No. 198n. The Registrar of the diocese in 1752 was James Hanning, who witnessed Berkeley's will.

202 To BENSON

See No. 198n. This letter is addressed to an unmarried bishop who knew James and Dalton well, who was acquainted with Wolfe, and who was on intimate terms with Berkeley. He could be none other than Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester. The one objection to this identification is the statement in the *DNB* that Benson married Secker's sister. That statement is, I feel almost sure, a mistake, a confusion with the fact that Secker married Benson's sister. The evidence that Benson did not marry is : (1) the absence of any mention of a wife from his mural tablet in Gloucester Cathedral, which gives a detailed and dated record of his life, even to his schooling ; (2) the absence of any mention of a wife in the Berkeley-Benson correspondence. Two letters, at least, from Berkeley to Benson survive (Nos. 139, 258). Six letters from Benson to Berkeley survive, and are published by Fraser (*LL*, pp. 170, 237, 250, 256, 287, 332). There is no hint in any of these letters that Benson was married, and there are strong suggestions that he was not married. Benson speaks of his sister and

her health, of Mrs Berkeley, of her health and family, but never of his own wife. ' My humble services wait upon Mrs Berkeley. My sister is still at Bath.' Are those the words of a married man?

On James and Dalton see Nos. 134n, 198n ; on Wolfe see Nos. 198n, 199, and cf. Fraser, *LL*, p. 257, ' I have sent your letter to Mr Wolfe's lodgings. '

John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford (1710–71). ' He owed his influence in politics to his rank and vast possessions, ' *DNB*. Entering the House of Commons, he attacked Walpole ; he held office as Secretary of the South ; he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1757–61, and became Chancellor of Dublin University in 1768. His portrait by Gainsborough hangs in the *salon* of the Provost's House. The Bishop of Oxford was Thos. Secker (see No. 139n), a friend of Berkeley, Benson and Rundle ; he befriended the Berkeleys at Oxford when the Bishop died there. Bishop of Bristol 1734, he was translated to Oxford in 1737, and to Canterbury in 1758.

203 To GERVAIS

Stock, page lxxxix. ALS in private possession, Dublin, seen by me and checked 1955

Gervais had his share of ambition, and had evidently just met some set-back, which Berkeley deftly turns into a compliment on his popularity. In No. 269 Berkeley calls him a ' Castle-hunter ', i.e. a hunter at Dublin Castle, and he eventually secured the Deanery of Tuam (see No. 192n).

The ' old priest ' was André Hercule de Fleury, Cardinal (1653–1743), who attained supreme administrative office in France in 1726, and pursued with great success his policy of strengthening France without committing her to war ; he detached England's continental allies, and engineered her exclusion from the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Vienna and the acquisition of Lorraine by France.

On the barony of Imokilly see No. 186n. Tar-water, mentioned also in No. 193, had been known and used in Berkeley's immediate circle for some time before he published *Siris*. Gervais was already a convert, and gives his testimony in Prior's *Authentick Narrative* . . ., p. 49 (see No. 219). Gervais' buoyant French temperament is a stimulant to his friend, and Berkeley's letters to him abound in dainty little *mots*, like ' you and the sun returned together ' ; it is sad that his letters to Berkeley have not survived ; for Berkeley often praises their style, and in No. 225 he calls them ' so much tissue of gold and silver.'

204 To GERVAIS

ALS in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 148

The bass violin is mentioned again in No. 206, and in No. 208 Berkeley thanks Gervais for providing it. *Virtuoso*, i.e. an expert, but already acquiring a slightly depreciatory sense. Bolton Street, Dublin, where Prior lived and died, was off Capel Street; it was named after the Duke of Bolton.

205 To PERCIVAL (*fils*)

ALS in EP, vol. 46; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 148

John Percival, 2nd Earl of Egmont (1711–70) began public life as M.P. for a seat in Co. Kerry; he entered English politics at this critical time, winning the election for the City of Westminster in December 1741. He supported Pulteney's motion for a select Committee to inquire into the conduct of the war and Walpole's administration. In 1743 he published *Faction detected by the evidence of facts*, called by Coxe 'one of the best political pamphlets ever written.' In 1748 he succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Egmont. He was influential in Parliament, holding several minor posts, and finally winning a place in the English peerage as Baron Lovel and Holland of Enmore. He was never known to laugh, and only smiled at chess (*DNB*). In 1737 he married Lady Catherine Cecil, by whom he had five sons; after her death in 1752 he married again; he wished to revive feudal tenure, and the agrarian legislation to which Berkeley refers here and in No. 209 may have been an attempt to carry out this wish. For Lord Percival's subsequent visit to Cloyne and his southern estates, see Nos. 211, 212.

Sumptuary laws to curb luxury are advocated by Berkeley in his *Essay towards preventing the Ruine of Great Britain* (see No. 72n).

The political changes adumbrated in this letter and discussed in subsequent letters were consequent on the fall of Walpole after his twenty-one years' tenure of power. When Parliament met in December 1741, Walpole had only a bare majority; eight weeks later he was defeated on a minor matter, and resigned, remaining influential, however, after his resignation; see No. 207.

206 To GERVAIS

Stock, page xc

Jemmet (Jemmett) Browne, Dean of Ross, subsequently Bishop of Killaloe 1743, Dromore 1745, Cork 1745, Elphin 1772, Archbishop of Tuam 1775; he died in 1782. As Bishop of Cork he was on intimate terms with Berkeley, and when the latter went to Oxford

he undertook Confirmations and other episcopal functions in Cloyne diocese ; see his letter to Berkeley dated 28 September 1752 in the *Berkeley Papers*, published by Fraser (*LL*, pp. 340–1).

Berkeley himself had no ear for music (No. 63), and the attention paid to music in his children's education is remarkable. The ' excellent master ' was, no doubt, the Italian musician Pasquilino, whom Berkeley met at Percival's house in London in 1733 (*RBP*, p. 288), who came to Dublin and is often mentioned in the Dublin newspapers of the day, and who lived in the Palace at Cloyne for four years, teaching the children music. He is mentioned in Prior's *Authentick Narrative*, p. 123, as having received benefit from tar-water ; see my *Life*, p. 179, for an amusing story of his broken English.

For the crisis in English politics and the precarious position of Walpole in the new Parliament see No. 205n. The breach between the King and the Prince had long been one of the leading political questions. The Bishop of Oxford, who acted as intermediary, was Thomas Secker, later Archbishop of Canterbury ; (see No. 202n) Secker was Martin Benson's brother-in-law, and no doubt Berkeley had his information from Benson, who wrote frequently and intimately to him.

George Fitzroy, Earl of Euston, 2nd son of Charles, 2nd Duke of Grafton, Berkeley's former patron, was born in 1715 ; on 10 October 1741 he married Dorothy, seventeen-year-old daughter of the Earl of Burlington and Cork ; she died of smallpox May 1742, ' delivered by death from misery,' according to the inscription on her portrait. ' Do you not pity the poor girl, of the softest temper, vast beauty, birth, and fortune, to be so sacrificed,' Horace Walpole. *The Complete Peerage*, London 1926, VI, 46, has the note on her, ' A £40,000 fortune. He treated her with extreme brutality, the details of which are almost too revolting to be believed.'

Spes et fortuna valete. Gervais is still feeling the effects of the disappointment (No. 203), and Berkeley is trying to console and encourage his mercurial friend.

207 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxv ; LR, page 281

We have here a glimpse at the personalities who came to the front when Walpole fell.

George, 4th Earl of Northampton, in 1726 married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Rushout. Elder brother of Spencer Compton, who was Speaker in 1714 and 1722, he was Paymaster-General in 1728, Lord Privy Seal in 1730, and Earl of Wilmington. In 1742 he succeeded Walpole as First Lord of the Treasury and nominal head of the Government, but he was not a man of ability and was wanting in decision, and he was outshone by Lord Carteret. From Walpole's ministry there remained in office Newcastle, Pelham,

Hardwicke, Harrington and the Duke of Devonshire; Pitt, Lyttleton and the Grenvilles were excluded.

Samuel Sandys (1695?–1770), nephew of Sir John Rushout of Ombersley; he was a strong opponent of Walpole, and on 13 February 1742 he moved an address to the King asking for Walpole's removal; on Walpole's fall, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer; he went to the Lords in 1743.

Sir John Rushout (1684–1775), M.P. for Evesham 1722–68, he was Lord Hervey's second in his duel with Pulteney; he opposed Walpole, and was one of the committee appointed 26 March 1742 to inquire into Walpole's conduct. In 1729 he married Anne, 6th daughter of the Earl of Northampton. On the Duke of Dorset see No. 166n; he was Lord Steward of the Household, and in 1745 became Lord President of the Council.

Note the phrase 'so narrow a bottom'; two years later was formed 'The Broad-bottomed administration.'

208 To GERVAIS

Stock, page xcii

Great sympathy was felt in England for Maria Theresa; Walpole gave her a subsidy of £300,000, which Carteret raised to £500,000, persuading her to cede Silesia to Frederick. To safeguard his daughter's succession the Emperor Charles VI had laboriously built up the system of alliances known as the Pragmatic Sanction; but the Emperor was hardly in his grave before Frederick of Prussia and the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony repudiated their engagements. France and Spain did likewise. The Queen called for aid from Holland, Russia, Savoy and England.

On the musical instruments and the musical education of the children see Nos. 204n, 206n; on the change of ministry see No. 207n.

209 To PERCIVAL (*fils*)

ALS in EP; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 149

On Viscount Percival see No. 205n. He had political ideals involving legislation of a feudal type. Berkeley suggests to him the normative value of ideals such as Plato's, and desires him to include in his agrarian policy sumptuary laws against luxury, such as he himself had proposed in his *Essay towards preventing the Ruine of Great Britain* (1721).

On the political situation in England after the fall of Walpole see No. 207. Berkeley was not a party man, but his sympathies were those of the non-Jacobite, Hanoverian Tory. He is afraid that the political upheaval will result in little improvement; hence his allusion to the 'mouse' (*Parturiunt montes; nascetur ridiculus mus*. Horace, *Ars poetica*, 139). He gives no clue to the identity of the 'Commoner,' but the 'Peer' almost certainly is Lord Wilmington (see No. 207n),

effective on ceremonial occasions, but lacking in decision and in the qualities of leadership, of whom it was written (see *DNB*) :

> See yon old dull important Lord
> Who at the longed-for money Board
> Sits first, but does not lead.

On the phrase ' narrowing the public bottom ' see No. 207n. The quotation from Cicero is from *De Officiis*, II, 75.

210 To PERCIVAL (*fils*)

ALS in EP, vol. 73 ; first published in RBP, page 293

The political situation is the same as that of No. 209, and the date 1742 is highly probable. On Maria Theresa see No. 208n

211 To PERCIVAL (*fils*)

ALS in EP, vol. 46 ; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 151

This letter virtually refuses Percival's request for a benefice for Brereton, his land agent at Burton, Co. Cork, but four months later Berkeley was ' better than his word ' and conferred the vicarage of Kilbrin, near Burton, see No. 213.

Lord and Lady Percival were visiting their castle at Loghort, near Mallow. No doubt they had landed at Waterford or Dungarvan, and had proceeded along the Youghal-Cork highroad, that passes some four miles from Cloyne. They had made a similar trip in the previous year, see No. 205. Rostellan, the small harbour, two miles from Cloyne, is also mentioned in No. 186.

212 To PERCIVAL (*fils*)

ALS in EP, vol. 45 ; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 151

The invitation in the previous letter had evidently been accepted. This letter bears the address to ' Viscount Percival at Lohort near Mallow.'

213 To PERICVAL (*fils*)

ALS in EP, vol. 45 ; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 152

A supplement to No. 211, q.v. A ' benefice without cure,' i.e. one without cure of souls (see No. 184n). The ' vicarage ' is abstract ; it does not connote a residence, but the holding the place of the owner-patron. The following note on Kilbrin vicarage is contained in Chas. Smith, *County and City of Cork*, I, 88, Dublin 1750, Kilbrin vicarage ; patron the Bishop ; the rectory is impropriate. Robert Longfield Impropriator.

A Robert Brereton, apparently a clergyman, was presented to the rectory of Bruhenny in Cloyne diocese by the Earl of Egmont on 23 December 1735 ; W. M. Brady, *Records*, II, 74.

214 To GERVAIS

Stock, page xcii

The son here mentioned, must have been the Rev. Isaiah Gervais, whose son, Henry Gervais, entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1728, graduated B.A., LL.B., and LL.D., and when Archdeacon of Cashel lent his grandfather's letters to Stock.

Richard Pococke (1704–65), a graduate of Oxford, F.R.S., was appointed Precentor of Lismore in 1725, Precentor of Waterford 1744, Archdeacon of Dublin 1745, and Bishop of Ossory 1756. He restored St Canice's, Kilkenny, and established Pococke's College then. A pioneer in Alpine climbing and in travel, he toured France, Italy, and other parts of Europe, also Egypt and Palestine. He toured Ireland in 1752, and Scotland, and the MS of his Irish tour is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. His famous work, described by Gibbon as ' of superior learning and dignity ' was *A Description of the East and some other Countries.* Vol. I on Egypt came out in London in 1743, and is presumably the volume Berkeley purchased ; vol. II appeared in 1745 ; it describes Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, etc.

215 To GERVAIS

Stock, page xciii

Gervais's appointment to the Deanery of Tuam was announced in the *Dublin Journal* for 22 May 1744, but it appears to have been settled some months earlier. The Broad Seal was the old name for the Great Seal, kept by the Lord Chancellor, that authenticated appointments.

The year 1743 had been Carteret's *annus mirabilis* politically and militarily. The battle of Dettingen in June had been a success for England and a setback for France ; but, as Berkeley observes, France was recovering and *eo ipso* England was growing weaker.

The incident between Maria Theresa and the Tsarina concerned an affront alleged to have been offered to the Marquis de Botta, the Queen's envoy at St Petersburg. He was examined there in respect of a plot against the Tsarina, and though he was declared innocent, the Tsarina persisted in regarding him as guilty. ' There is an end to all thoughts of peace in the North ; the Swedish ministers are recalled from Denmark, and the Empress of Russia seems inclined to pick a quarrel with the Court of Vienna.' Pue's *Occurrences*, 3–7 January 1744.

216 To GERVAIS

ALS in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; from a photostat copy I have corrected the text published by Stock, page xciii

Berkeley is suffering from sciatica and is depressed by the trend of European politics. In 1742 Carteret had made treaties with Russia and with Prussia; two years later England had hardly a friend on the Continent. On the dispute between Vienna and St. Petersburg see No. 215n. The Dutch occupied a strange position throughout these changes. Nominally England's ally, they sent over the troops promised under the Barrier Treaties to fight the Pretender; but in regard to France, they were slow to move, and acted inconsistently; they refused to declare war on France, but fought an undeclared war against her for four years.

The issue of Britain's payment for Hanoverian troops was a running sore in home politics. Hanoverian and Hessian troops had been brought over to guard England's shores, and they were unpopular with the people and the army, and the Court was accused of showing favouritism to the foreigners. Pitt in a famous speech in the House called Carteret 'Hanoverian troop-Minister.' Carteret in reply said that the accusations of favouritism were 'mendacious gossip.' A compromise solution was reached. England was not to pay for them directly; Maria Theresa was to employ them, and England's subsidy to her was increased.

According to Stock the 'select tryals' was *Causes Célèbres*, a collection of reports of French trials.

217 To GERVAIS

Stock, page xcv

In spite of the bonfire at Cloyne and the rejoicings for the indecisive naval action at Toulon, the undercurrent of this letter is sad. England faces the prospect of war with France and the consequent Jacobite rebellion, and Berkeley here takes stock calmly, and the position as seen from Southern Ireland is serious enough. England's difficulty, as always, is Ireland's opportunity. The Protestants in the South are but one in nine. England has Spain and France on her hands, and the Pretender's flotilla is ready to sail. Is the Government awake? Soldiers are being shipped from Cork. The Protestants have not been armed, nor the militia called out. The naval concentration at Brest was known, why was it not crushed? The Commander of the Home Fleet, Sir John Norris, was waiting for it; but when the French Admiral Roquefeuil, came out, he got away, and Norris was called off.

The 'Pretender's Cardinal' is de Fleury (see No. 203n) who was in charge of French policy, and was preparing a naval expedition in support of the Pretender's landing. In what did his 'fencing' consist? Presumably Berkeley means that the French expedition, apparently

aimed at London, was intended for Scotland. His ' good news ' must have been the indecisive naval engagement off Toulon, which was later the subject of a court-martial. The French still nominally at peace sheltered a Spanish fleet at Toulon. Mathews and Lestock were watching them. In February the enemy came out ; Mathews attacked and fought bravely (11 February), but Lestock sulked, saying that he did not understand the signals ; and the enemy suffered little loss. The Brest fleet appeared off Dungeness, and there was an invasion scare. In March 1744 war with France was declared.

218 To GERVAIS

ALS, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin ; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 152

The chief public event since the last letter was the battle of Fontenoy (1745), a glorious defeat for the British army, but a defeat, and one that gave Flanders to Marshal Saxe. For both Berkeley and his friend the spring of 1744 was memorable. Gervais was appointed Dean of Tuam, and Berkeley leaped into new fame as physician and discoverer of tar-water. *Siris*, his last book of importance, was published in March 1744 ; it had a twofold aim, advocating the medicinal use of tar-water, and sketching a philosophy of sense and spirit. *Siris* went through half a dozen editions in as many months ; it provoked replies and counter-replies and the discussions about it continued for years in medical circles. Tar-water for a time was a universal remedy ; the papers were full of it, and its fame spread from Ireland to England and Scotland, and thence to France and Germany. Do you sell tar-water ? A man asked an apothecary. Tar-water, was the reply, why I sell nothing else.

The tar-water episode stemmed not merely from Berkeley's philanthropy, but from that attempt to promote the general well-being of Ireland, of which the *Querist* is the proof ; for the sufferings of the sick poor and the absence of any department of public health see No. 193n and my *Life*, pp. 199 ff.

The ' victories ' to which Berkeley refers were Dettingen, Fontenoy and, at sea, Toulon ; but they were, none of them, striking successes, and Fontenoy was, in its broad results, a defeat.

Tuam, a market-town and ecclesiastical centre, with a population of about 4,000, twenty miles NNE. of Galway. The see of Tuam (Church of Ireland) lost its metropolitan status in 1839, and was included in the province of Armagh. St Mary's Cathedral in Tuam remains as a witness to its former importance. The cathedral with its remarkable triumphal arch and highly ornamented chancel was rebuilt about the year 1152 by King Turlogh O'Conor, and reconstructed during the thirteenth century. On Lismore see No. 188n.

219 To PRIOR

LR, page 283

These verses were to be printed in the public press. I have searched for them in the *Dublin Journal* without success.

James Jurin (1684–1750), Fellow and Secretary of the Royal Society 1721–7, a very learned doctor and pupil of Sir Isaac Newton ; he tried to mechanize physiology ; he published many works, and supported inoculation for smallpox. He had already crossed swords with Berkeley over the *Analyst*, which he attacked in *Geometry no friend to infidelity*, 1734, and *The Minute Mathematician*, 1735, writing as Philalethes Cantabrigiensis. He was President of the Royal College of Physicians in 1750, and the Library of that College has a copy of *A letter to the Right Rev. the Bishop of Cloyne occasioned by his Lordship's treatise on the virtues of tar-water.* . . . London 1744, a clever and nasty satire, almost certainly by Jurin. It was answered in July, perhaps by Prior in *An Answer* to a supposed physician's letter . . . appended to the first of his three public letters, addressed to T . . . . P . . . . Esq., which is, no doubt, the ' Letter which I formerly wrote,' now sent to be printed.

The ' affidavits ' represent a curious incident in the tar-water controversy in Dublin. In the *Dublin Journal* for 2 June 1744 appeared a statement that patients at Steevens' Hospital, recently founded in Dublin, had signed affidavits to the effect that after a long course of tar-water their health was no better, but worse, Prior and Faulkner, the editor of the *Dublin Journal*, replied to this attack by appealing in the columns of the *Journal* for personal testimony from those who had received benefit from tar-water. Hundreds sent their testimony, and Prior summarized the evidence in his book, *An Authentick Narrative of the success of tar-water* . . . 1746, dedicated to Lord Chesterfield. Here is an extract (p. 146), ' Thousands have received benefit, and daily do receive benefit in Ireland, England, Holland, France, Portugal and Germany, by the use of tar-water. The letters sent to me signify the same, and the least enquiry may satisfy others of the truth thereof.' See my *Life*, pp. 201 ff. On ' marble paper ' see No. 187n ; Innys was Berkeley's London publisher ; the ' magazine ' is probably the *Gentleman's Magazine* ; the number for April 1744 (vol. 14, pp. 193–6, 232) contained a digest of *Siris*.

The books to be sent to Harper's in Cork (cf. No. 177 ; Messrs Harper and Morris, the agents for his library) were : (*a*) *An universal history from the earliest account of time to the present*, in nine volumes, London 1736, much advertised in the Dublin papers ; (*b*) *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae a synodo Verolamiensi A.D. 446 ad Londiniensem, A.D. 1717*, by David Wilkins, London 1737.

220 To HANMER

From ' The Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart.,' 1838, by H. Bunbury, page 230

On Sir Thomas Hanmer ' chief of the Hanoverian Tories,' whose son married Percival's daughter, see No. 53n. As late as 1749 (see No. 254) Berkeley speaks of his correspondence with patients who drink tar-water, and if it were all on the scale of this letter to Hanmer, no wonder it interfered with his other correspondence.

221 To PRIOR

LR, page 286

Berkeley's poem appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October 1744. He had some reason for being nettled. He had done nothing to discredit the medical profession, and his medicine was a remedy, admitted to the Pharmacopeia, and still there. Yet not a few physicians had attacked him as if he had acted improperly. Dr Jurin (see No. 219n) who held high rank in the profession had bitterly satirized him. The affidavits (see No. 219n) represented an organized movement of a section of the Dublin doctors ; from the Press had come *Anti-Siris*, May 1744, *Siris in the shades*, July 1744, *A cure for the epidemical madness of drinking tar-water*, August 1744 ; cf. the quip in *Herring's Letters . . . to William Duncombe*, 1777, pp. 70 ff, ' The faculty in general, and the whole posse of apothecaries are very angry both with the author and the book, which makes many people suspect it is a good thing.'

The *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731–1907), a typical product of British culture, and of kindred spirit with the periodicals of the British essayists, the *Tatler*, the *Spectator* and the *Guardian*, came out every month, giving summaries of events at home and abroad, obituary notices, etc., together with instructive articles on philosophy, religion, art, antiquity and other topics of general interest. From 1907–1922 there were small, unnumbered issues.

The History of the Works of the Learned began in January 1737 and continued for several years ; its aim was to give a conspectus of the state of European learning.

The glazing of the vessels is mentioned in *Farther Thoughts on tar-water* at the beginning, and in Sect. 2 of the edition of the first *Letter to Prior* appended to Prior's *Authentick Narrative*, but it is *not* in the first edition. Evidently Prior carried out his instructions.

Berkeley disliked cards, and discouraged play in his house, but evidently he had no scruples about lotteries ; the winning numbers were regularly published in the Dublin papers.

This is the only mention of Berkeley's sister, known to me. In my *Life* (p. 26) I suggested that ' sister ' might be an abbreviation for sister-in-law, and might refer to Mrs Robert Berkeley. I now withdraw that suggestion.

According to family records, shown to me by Mr Barter, he is in direct descent from the Bishop's sister, who was born *c.* 1690, and *c.* 1720 married a MacCarthy of Blarney Castle. Their daughter who was born *c.* 1730 married Richard Barter who was born in 1735 and died in 1818.

On William Whiston (1667–1752), unorthodox divine, see No. 7n. His *The Eternity of Hell torments considered* . . . was published in London in 1740; it is little more than a *cento* of texts from Holy Scripture. His work on the Miracles is not listed in that name among the fifty-two works mentioned in the *DNB*; perhaps it is his *An Enquiry into the meaning of demoniacks in the New Testament*, London 1737.

A Present for a Servant-Maid: Or the sure means of gaining love and esteem, advertised in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, 1744; price 6d or 25 for half a guinea.

222 To LINDEN

This letter is printed in the French version (1745, Amsterdam and Leipzig) of part of 'Siris,' and is reproduced in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 160

D. W. Linden translated the German version (1746) of part of *Siris*, and was author of *Gründliche historische Nachricht vom Theer-Wasser*. . . . This latter work in ch. 1, pp. 8–10 contains a German version of this letter, very close to the French; the letter in German from Linden to Berkeley, to which No. 217 is a reply, is given ib., pp. 7–8; it is dated London, 30 November (O.S.) 1744, and here is Professor Jessop's translation of it:

LINDEN TO BERKELEY

Your Grace,

I humbly crave your pardon for troubling you again. That your pardon will be given I am confident. About two months ago, during my last visit to Amsterdam, I had the pleasure of seeing that your treatise on tar-water, entitled *Siris*, had been translated into French and Dutch. I have been asked to translate it into German, and have agreed to the extent of being willing to render extracts, in a style as clear as I can make it, though it may not be very elegant. For this purpose I should like to know whether tar-water was first used by the Indians or by some other race, how long that race has used it, and how you first became acquainted with that medicine; and I should be grateful for any other information you may have on this subject.

223 To GERVAIS

Stock, page xcvii

Thomas Sydenham (1624–89), Fellow of All Souls; after a military career with the Parliamentarians, he qualified for medical practice, won a continental reputation, and was known as the 'English Hippocrates.' He was Locke's friend, and wrote several books, amongst

them *Tractatus de podagra et hydrope*, London 1683, which has the words (p. 21), ' hoc in morbo dolor amarissimum est naturae pharmacum.' Sydenham describes his own attacks.

The war with France declared in 1744 had so far proved indecisive ; the question of land expeditions had been much canvassed, and the Irish Parliament had even petitioned the King not to send troops to the Continent.

Berkeley's eldest child, Henry, was born in Rhode Island in 1729 ; little is known of him except that he was delicate, and that he was intended for Oxford. He may have matriculated at Christ Church, but he was not there when his brother George went there, and he was in the south of France when his father died. His father's papers passed through his hands, see my *Life*, p. 183. On the situation of Lismore see No. 188n ; on the sheltered valleys of Imokilly see No. 186n.

224 To CLARKE

J. H. Bernard said that this letter (presumably the autograph) was at the time in the possession of the Bishop of Ripon, and that it was written in 1745 to Dr Clarke (see No. 196n) ; see ' Peplographia Dublinensis,' London 1902, page 77n, where the letter is printed.

Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773), statesman, wit, and letter-writer ; a Whig M.P., he quarrelled with Walpole and contributed to his downfall ; he became Leader of the Opposition in the Lords ; he entered the Pelham ministry, and was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 31 August 1745 to 13 September 1747 ; his policy was enlightened and tolerant ; he fostered national industries and encouraged men of public spirit like Berkeley and Prior. Prior's *Authentick Narrative* . . . (see No. 219n) was dedicated to him. For a sympathetic study of his character as *filius hujus saeculi* and an appreciative account of his Lord Lieutenancy, see S. Shellabarger, *Lord Chesterfield*, 1935, especially pp. 225–37.

225 To GERVAIS

Stock, page xcviii

Dean Gervais has had a good reception at the Vice-Regal Court, and he, or Berkeley for him, is beginning to think in terms of a bishopric.

Now for the second time in Berkeley's life the Jacobite cause becomes a living issue. Charles Edward is in Scotland ; anything could happen in Ireland. As envoy to the Hague, Lord Chesterfield had induced the Dutch to mobilize, and they had fulfilled their obligations under the Barrier Treaties by sending troops to fight against the Jacobite invaders ; but Dutch troops were never popular in England, and Berkeley here voices the general sentiment (cf. ' revile the Dutch,' No. 228).

Jonathan Swift (' the poor dead Dean ') died on 19 October 1745.

The senior students of Trinity College showed their admiration for the man by subscribing the cost of the fine bust of Swift by Roubillac (1695–1762), now in the Long Room of the Library. The arrival of the bust from London is announced in the *Dublin Journal* for 21/5 March 1749. The following extract from a rhyming inscription, there proposed for it, contains quaint lines, but has the interest of showing that already Berkeley had attained something of the rank of Swift in popular esteem, and that their names were coupled :

> We, youth of Alma, Thee her pride and grace,
> Illustrious Swift, amid these heroes place. . . .
> All hail, Hibernia's boast ! Our other pride,
> Late, very late, may Berkeley grace thy side.

Berkeley had evidently heard the rumour (if Stock's note ib. is correct, it was only a rumour) that the College authorities were proposing to exclude the bust on political grounds. Two points in Berkeley's remark are noteworthy: (1) Tory and Jacobite are not identical; (2) Wit, i.e. learning and culture, transcends religious denomination.

Richard Baldwin (1666–1758), Provost and munificent benefactor of Trinity College. Entering in 1685, he graduated B.A. in 1689, was elected Fellow in 1693, and was appointed Provost in 1717. His will, leaving £80,000 to the College, was established in favour of the College after litigation lasting over sixty years. He was buried in the College Chapel, and his statue by C. Hewetson is in the Theatre of the College. In 1727 Baldwin had a dispute with Delany and the other Senior Fellows about an election to a fellowship (see note in the *Red Calendar*, p. 496n). Baldwin's name became almost synonymous with Whig and a Whig policy. Swift greatly disliked him on that account, writing on 26 November 1725 to a Tutor-Fellow, named Stopford, ' I am told the Provost has absolutely given away all your pupils. Pray God give you grace to be hated by him and all such beasts while you live.'

Rapparee, a pike-man, robber, or free-booter, *deriv.* rapier, a short pike. The rapparees might well have been ' the forerunners of an insurrection '; for Charles Edward was in Scotland, and was approaching England.

The Young Pretender entered Edinburgh 16 September 1745 ; he captured Carlisle on 17 November ; he was at Derby 4 December. There his army halted, for no English came to support them. Soon H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland (see No. 228n) advanced ; on 2 February 1746 he reached Stirling ; on 27 February he reoccupied Aberdeen ; on 15 April he was at Nairn, and the following day he had an easy victory at Culloden, that put an end to all organized resistance. Cumberland stamped out with severity the embers of rebellion, and received the title of ' the Butcher ' ; but on the whole the victors behaved with moderation.

Such was the background for Berkeley's three letters on military matters to the public press signed *Eubulus* (Nos. 226, 227, 229).

226 IN THE *Dublin Journal*

'Dublin Journal' for 17/21 December 1745, and, along with No. 230 as one letter by Monck Berkeley, LR, page 289. It is clear from No. 230 that 'a' public letter went with it, but it is by no means certain that No. 226 was that public letter; it might have been No. 229, which with No. 227 makes up a trio of public letters on military themes. Stock also published No. 230, and says it was accompanied by a letter signed 'Eubulus,' containing advice about clothing for the militia; but that statement settles nothing; for No. 226 concerns soldiers' dress, but does not mention the militia, whereas No. 229 is about the militia, but not about clothing. Besides there is a difficulty about the date. Stock dates No. 230 February 1746. No. 229 appeared in the issue 4/8 February, but No. 226 had appeared six weeks earlier. It is a small point, and my guess is that Monck Berkeley read what Stock had written about it, looked up the 'Dublin Journal,' came on the one 'Eubulus' letter only, and copied it out on the assumption that it was the one sent with No. 230. Reading the 'Dublin Journal' for the period, I came on the other two 'Eubulus' letters, and recognized them as Berkeley's, and published them in 'Hermathena,' xxiii, 45–50, where details are discussed.

Berkeley's concern about the position of affairs, and the general uneasiness can be measured from the fact that he wrote five public letters within five months. These were:

(1) A letter to his clergy, *Dublin Journal*, 15/19 October 1745.
(2) A letter to the Roman Catholics of the diocese of Cloyne, ib. 15/19 and 19/22 October 1745.
(3) A letter to the public advocating battle-dress for soldiers in action, ib., 17/21 December 1745, No. 226.
(4) A letter to the public advocating a 'bantam battalion,' ib. 4/7 January 1746, No. 227.
(5) A letter to the public advocating a militia, ib., 4/8 February 1746, No. 229. N.B. The letters to his clergy and to the Roman Catholics of his diocese are printed in vol. VI of this series, pp. 227, 229.

227 IN THE *Dublin Journal*

'Dublin Journal' for 4/7 January 1746

On the three *Eubulus* letters see No. 226n. Here Berkeley advocates the enlistment of 'low, squat, well-set men'; the regulation measurements were designed, he thinks, rather for parade than for action.

Blunder-buss, a corruption of 'thunder-box.' What *Morrisons* are I do not know. Morris-pikes are described in the O.E.D.

228 To GERVAIS

Stock, page xcvi

The advance of the Duke of Cumberland had begun and the withdrawal of the invaders, and Berkeley's spirits rise.

Baron Mountnay (or Mountenay, 1707–68), Fellow of King's College, Cambridge ; a classical scholar and editor of Demosthenes ; he succeeded Baron Wainwright (see No. 165n) as Baron of the Exchequer (I). Mr Bristow may be the Rev. Peter Bristow, Vicar-choral of Cork, 1733–69, who wrote a comedy, *The Harlequins*, that was printed in London in 1753 ; but there are several Bristows mentioned in *Alumni Dublinenses.*

On Lismore where Gervais lived, see No. 188n ; Gervais was by birth a Gascon, hence his 'foreign fire' ; on the general British opinion of the Dutch see No. 225n ; on Lord Chesterfield see No. 224n.

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland ('the Duke,' 1721–65), third son of George II, served in Navy and Army, fought at Dettingen ; Commander of Allied forces in Netherlands 1741 ; Captain-General 1745, commanded second army and first army against Charles Edward, defeated rebels at Culloden, received the thanks of Parliament, Chancellor of St Andrews University 1746, and of Dublin University 1751 ; he founded the Ascot meeting, and made the racecourse.

229 IN THE *Dublin Journal*

'Dublin Journal' for 4/8 February 1746

On the three *Eubulus* letters see No. 226n. Berkeley writes in praise of military training, manly sports, and the formation of a militia. At Sheriffmuir on 13 November 1715 the rebel Earl of Mar was decisively beaten by the Duke of Argyll (see No. 59n). At Prestonpans on 21 September 1745 Charles Edward defeated Cope in five minutes. The Latin quotation is from Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi, 37.

230 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxvii ; LR, page 291

On the *Eubulus* letters, one of which was enclosed with this letter, see No. 226n. On the Cloyne troop of thirty horse see No. 225 ; on the *Querist* see No. 187n ; on Lord Chesterfield, the Lord Lieutenant, see No. 224n. On Mr Liddel I have no information.

George Faulkner (1699–1775), Dublin printer and man of letters, owner of the *Dublin Journal* ; he had a bookshop in Parliament Street looking out on Essex Bridge. He took a leading part in various movements and projects for the benefit of the country. Chesterfield styled him 'the Hibernian Atticus' and 'governor of the governors of Ireland.' He was reprimanded by the Irish House of Lords, 1733, was

committed to Newgate 1736 ; in 1770 he was an alderman of Dublin. For his relations with Swift, whose *Works* he published in 1772, see *DNB* and Ball's edition of Swift's correspondence, especially IV, 286n.

231 TO GERVAIS

Stock, page xcvii

The death of Gervais' niece is referred to also, apparently, in No. 232 ; for the banter about Gascony cf. No. 228 ' foreign fire. ' Gascony was an old province of SW. France, now the departments of Basses-Pyrénées, Hautes-Pyrénées, Landes and Gers. The Gascons were notorious for their boastings ; hence *Gasconade.*

On the British view of the Dutch see No. 225n ; the Dutch point of view is expressed by a Dutch patriot in a translated speech during the war, given in the *Dublin Courant* for 10/14 February 1747.

232 To GERVAIS

Stock, page xcix

Gervais' loss is presumably that of his niece (see No. 231). Berkeley consoles his friend, but is himself in need of comfort ; he is depressed by his own disorder and by the moral maladies of his day, and he quotes the well-known *Aetas parentum* . . . of Horace, *Odes*, iii, 6. The visit to Dublin, mentioned here as a remote possibility, seems to have been paid ; for the letter to Fothergill (vol. IV, pp. 252–3) is dated ' Dublin, 8 August 1746.' The visit must have been very brief, and must have taken place between 3 July (No. 234) and 24 August (No. 235).

233 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxxiii ; LR, page 304

The movement for the industrial development and economic welfare of Ireland, long advocated by Swift, Berkeley, Prior, Madden, Faulkner and other public-spirited men had now found its leader in the enlightened Viceroy, the Earl of Chesterfield (see No. 224n). Chesterfield was back in London on 18 April, soon to go to Holland as Ambassador-extraordinary. The Lords-Justices would administer for him in Ireland, and would, no doubt, carry out his policy ; hence Berkeley's phrase ' whether absent or present.'

The Bishop of Gloucester was Martin Benson (see No. 139n) ; the Earl's words to him in praise of Prior and his disinterested aims are borne out by the inscription, written by Berkeley, on the monument to Prior at the south entrance to Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, which pays Prior a fine tribute ; see vol. VII, p. 380. What was Prior's *scheme*, discussed by the Earl and the Bishop of Gloucester ? There can be little doubt that it concerned a charter and an annual subsidy for

the Dublin Society, now the Royal Dublin Society. For the note in Stock's edition of Berkeley's Works (p. xxviii) says that the only use Prior made of his friendship with the Earl was ' to procure, by his Lordship's recommendation, from the late King a charter of incorporation for his darling child the Dublin Society with a grant of £500 per annum for its better support.' On Prior's annual visit to Cloyne see No. 197n.

234 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxxiii

The first paragraph refers to an addition that Berkeley desires to make, probably to his first *A Letter to T. P. Esq. from the Author of Siris.* . . . This letter gives fuller information about tar-water and the way to prepare it ; it came out in 1744, and went through several editions (price 2d) in that year in Dublin and London ; an edition of it came out in 1746 appended to Prior's *Authentick Narrative*, and no doubt in that edition this change was to be made. There is, however, the complication that Berkeley's *second* Letter to Prior came out also in the appendix to that book, and it is possible that the *second* Letter is the one here in view.

The second paragraph looks as if the Earl had written to Prior approving the proposal for a charter and subsidy for the Dublin Society (see No. 233n).

On Dr Helsham, Fellow and Professor of Medicine in Dublin University, see No. 176n ; what trick the glassmen of Bristol played on him I do not know ; but in general English merchants did all they could to prevent industries taking root in Ireland. Bristol on the Avon had a flourishing trade with Dublin, and glass manufacture is still an important Bristol industry.

His wife's painting, presented to Prior, was a portrait of the Bishop, ' now in the possession of the Rev. Mr Archdale of Bolton Street, Dublin,' Stock, p. lxxxiv n. She had begun to draw only some six months previously, and it seems unlikely that she would be proficient enough to paint a portrait freehand, but she might well have been able to paint a *copy* of a portrait. There is in the Berkeley family a portrait of the Bishop, now owned by Lieut.-Colonel Jocelyn Berkeley, that has long been regarded in the family as an amateur production by some member of the family or a friend ; it is almost identical with the portrait by Vanderbank (No. 7 in Iconography appended to my *Life*, q.v., and I have suggested, ib. that it is in fact the copy of the Vanderbank, made by the Bishop's wife, and sent as a present to Prior, from whom it would descend to Mervyn Archdale (see No. 263n). Copying paintings was practised at Cloyne, see No. 253.

William, now ten years old, was a promising painter, see Nos. 253, 258, and Cooley's letter in my *Life*, p. 212 ; Julia's painting is mentioned in No. 253. On the barony of Imokilly see No. 186n.

Advertisements of the Historico-physical Society were frequently inserted in the Dublin newspapers of the day, e.g. the *Dublin Courant* for

28 October 1746, which announces the monthly meeting in the Lords' Committee Room of the Parliament House at noon. Mr James Simon was the author of *Essay on Irish Coins*, presented to the above Society on 7 December 1747 (see *Notes and Queries* for 1857, p. 9). He sent a letter concerning the petrifactions of Lough Neagh in Ireland, which was read before the Royal Society on 9 February 1747, and printed in the *Transactions* No. 481 ; see Berkeley's letter to Prior on the petrifactions in vol. IV, p. 251.

The Bishop of Meath was Henry Maule, translated from Dromore in 1744.

235 To PERCIVAL

ALS in EP, vol. 123 ; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 153

The Earl had borrowed from Berkeley in 1733 £2,700 stg. at 5 per cent, on a mortgage, and he discharged the mortgage thirteen years later for £3,000 Irish. The transaction explains Nos. 235, 237 and 239 ; cf. Percival's *Journal* in *RBP*, pp. 290, 294–5 for further details see under dates 1 August 1733, 20 November 1746 and 28 December 1746. See also extracts from the *Egmont Papers*, vol. 123 about the repayment, published in *Hermathena*, XXIII, 50–1, and the following letter (31 October 1746) from Purcell, the land agent, to the Earl, which illustrates the difficulty of transferring money in those days, and the Bishop's prudence in affairs : ' I waited on the Bishop on Monday, having foreseen that I should meet with difficulties from him ; nor was I mistaken ; for he refused to take the bill as payment as he did not know the drawers or their handwriting.' The Earl commended his friend's caution. The mortgage was assigned to Miss Dering, the Earl's niece.

236 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxxv ; LR, page 306

Cloyne is a large diocese, larger than Cork and Ross together, containing over half a million acres ; distances were great, roads poor, and communications difficult in those days.

George Stone (? 1708–64), educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, was Chaplain to the Duke of Dorset when Lord Lieutenant (see No. 166n). His career in the Church was meteoric : Dean of Ferns 1733, of Derry 1734 ; Bishop of Ferns 1740, of Kildare 1743, of Derry 1745, of Armagh 1747. Under the Duke of Dorset's second administration Stone virtually ruled Ireland. For his good looks he was known as ' the beauty of holiness ' ; he was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Note that Berkeley thinks and speaks of himself as an Irishman. Lord Chesterfield offered Berkeley the bishopric of Clogher, worth much more than Cloyne ; he declined it, and part of the reason was, what he here calls, his ' Oxford scheme,' which could be executed more easily from Cloyne. He had clearly intended, before Henry fell

ill (see No. 223n) to do for him what he did for his second son George a few years later, i.e. go over with him to Oxford, see him settled in, and stay awhile there.

237 To PERCIVAL

ALS in EP, vol. 123 ; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 154

See No. 235n for details about the loan. Messrs Brereton and Purcel were the Earl's land agents ; Brereton is mentioned in No. 211 in connection with a sinecure and in No. 213 ; Purcel is mentioned in No. 239.

238 To GERVAIS

ALS in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin ; Stock, page c

Gervais had evidently heard from Dublin that the Lord Lieutenant intended to offer Berkeley the Bishopric of Clogher ; the offer was actually made to him, but he declined ; in No. 242 he says, or almost says, that he would take the Primacy if it were offered to him.

Louis (Lewis) XV (1710–74) came to the throne as an infant of five years old. Richard Lestock (*c.*1679–1746), Admiral ; at the naval engagement off Toulon (No. 217n) he ignored, or failed to understand, Admiral Mathews' signals to attack. A court-martial was held, and he was honourably acquitted. Quimper, formerly Quimper-corentin, is the capital of the Department of Finistère ; Quimperlé is a town in the same Department. Between 1 and 16 October Lestock in the Princessa with six other men of war were operating in this area ; they effected some landings, and plundered some small islands.

Cove (Cobh), or Queenstown, on the eastern side of Cork harbour.

239 To PERCIVAL

ALS in EP, vol. 123 ; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 155

For the Earl's repayment of the debt of £3,000 Irish and the transfer of the mortgage to his niece, Miss Dering, see No. 235n.

The ' weak and unsuccessful enterprise ' is Lestock's descent upon the coast of Brittany in October. A fortnight earlier (No. 238) Berkeley had spoken more appreciatively of it. He now fears reprisals on the south coast of Ireland.

Tar-water had penetrated into titled and even royal circles. Besides the Countess of Egmont, the Duke of Newcastle was among Berkeley's patients, and so was Princess Caroline (see Nos. 246, 247).

240 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxvii

Three Dublin hospitals had been erected, Jervis Street 1718, Steevens' 1733, Mercer's 1734, and Dublin's growing interest in hospitals accounted, no doubt, for the exaggerated reports of the measures of sick relief at Cloyne.

241 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxviii ; LR, page 293

Berkeley's interest in meteorology and natural phenomena in general was lifelong, see his early *Description of the Cave of Dunmore*, IV, 257, his account of the eruption of Vesuvius, IV, 247 and No. 245 below.

The reference to his cousin's death makes his relationship to the Earl of Berkeley highly probable ; from No. 242 we know that his cousin had spent his last summer at the Earl's hunting-seat. Fraser secured a copy of the will and summarized its contents (*LL*, p. 312) ; it was dated 19 November 1746 and was proved on 23 January 1747 ; by it Captain Berkeley of Lisle Street, Westminster, bequeathed £100 ' to my cousin Captain William Berkeley ' (the Bishop's younger brother), and made small bequests to the Earl and Countess of Berkeley. Messrs Brome and Young were the executors. On Doctors' Commons see No. 95n.

242 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxviiii ; LR, page 295

The vacancy in the Primacy (Armagh) was created by the death in July 1746 of John Hoadly, translated from Dublin in 1742. In 1747 George Stone (see No. 236n) was appointed Primate. On Berkeley's attitude to translation see No. 236n and my *Life*, pp. 213–14.

On his cousin's will see No. 241n ; Young and Brome were the executors. James, Earl of Berkeley, died in 1736, and was succeeded by Augustus, Earl of Berkeley (1716–55) ; a Colonel in the Foot-guards, he served against the Jacobites ; he died at Berkeley.

Richard Mead (1673–1754), learned and eminent physician, F.R.S.; he studied at Utrecht and Leyden, and began to practise at Stepney in 1696 ; he practised inoculation, and wrote on poisons and the prevention of plague ; called in to attend Queen Anne two days before her death, he became Court Physician.

243 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxviii ; LR, page 257

On his cousin's will see No. 241n ; on Bishop Stone see No. 236n.

244 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxix ; LR, page 299

The *caveat* was too late ; his cousin's will (see No. 241n) was proved on 23 January 1747.

I have not identified this ballad. The Earl of Chesterfield (see No. 224n) was very witty, and was said to have kept Ireland quiet during the rebellion by his wit. Poverty, he said, not popery, was Ireland's enemy. He had met only one ' dangerous papist,' he said, Miss Ann Ambrose, the reigning toast.

Provost Baldwin (see No. 225n) was eighty-one years old at the time, and Berkeley's solicitude about the Provostship was intelligible ; in point of fact Baldwin outlived Berkeley, dying in 1758 at the age of ninety-two. The Senior Fellows on 20 November 1746 were Dr Clarke, Vice-Provost and Senior Proctor, Dr Pelissière, Auditor, Dr Gibson, Senior Lecturer, Mr Clement, Bursar, Dr Forster, Catechist, Dr Lawson, Registrar, Dr Disney, Senior Dean and Librarian.

Stephen Hales (1677–1761), physiologist and inventor, Fellow of Corpus Christi, Cambridge ; he took orders, and served a parish, but studied botany, physiology, the nutrition of plants, and sap ; he invented ventilators ; a D.D. of Oxford ; in 1745 he published *An account of some experiments . . . on tar-water.* In 1747 Berkeley published *Two Letters . . . one to Thomas Prior . . . the other to the Rev. Dr Hales on the benefit of tar-water in fevers. . . .*

Berkeley's reference to ' granaries and prisons ' gives an idea of the width of Prior's interest and horizon.

245 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxix ; LR, page 300

On Berkeley's interest in physical phenomena, see No. 241n. On Simon's Historico-philosophical Society, see No. 234n. The ' paper about petrifactions ' is explained by Fraser's discovery (see vol. IV, p. 251) of Berkeley's letter to Prior, dated 20 May 1746, written ' in no small hurry,' returning Simon's dissertation on the petrifying properties attributed to the waters of Lough Neagh, with comments. Berkeley says that there are often salts in the air, and that there are many instances, some of which he had himself seen on the Continent, of petrifaction in water, earth and sand, and in living things ; he questions the ' vulgar definition ' of stone as a fossil incapable of fusion. This letter was printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* (No. 481), annexed to a paper by James Simon, communicated to the Royal Society 9 February 1747.

On Prior's annual visit to Cloyne see No. 197n.

246 TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

ALS in the British Museum, Add. Ms 32710, folio 299; found by T. E. Jessop, and first published in 'Hermathena,' xxiii, 51–2

On Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, see No. 166n.

See Prior's *Authentick Narrative . . .*, pp. 11, 62–6 for a report on a controversy about tar-water in the *Newcastle Courant*, and for letters from John Usher of Lismore.

A 'dram' is a small draught of cordial, stimulant, or spirituous liquor.

247 To PERCIVAL

ALS in EP, vol. 124; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 155

Similar requests for the purchase of strings occur in Nos. 204, 206, 208.

Tar-water had penetrated into the royal palace; the Princess may have been Elizabeth Caroline, 4th child of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who was born in 1740 and died in 1759; but was, more probably, Elizabeth Caroline, 4th child of George II, who was born in 1713 and died in 1757.

The Hon. Augustus Schutz, Master of the Wardrobe to his Royal Highness, is named in Berkeley's *Proposal for the better supplying . . .*, as willing to receive subscriptions for the Bermuda scheme.

248 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxxii; LR, page 302

On his cousin's will see No. 241n; on the Primacy and translation see No. 242n.

249 To BEARCROFT

Archives of the SPG, Ser. B, vol. 15, letter 191. First pub. by H. J. Cadbury in 'Bishop Berkeley's Gifts to the Harvard Library' in 'Harvard Library Bulletin' for 1953

Dr Philip Bearcroft was Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from 1739 to *c.*1761. On 10 April 1747 he reported Berkeley's gift and suggestion. Both were accepted. Soon afterwards Bearcroft wrote to Berkeley reporting payment of the draft, and the intention to purchase the books for Harvard; he thinks it doubtful whether the Church of England books would be welcome; he proposes to consult Mr Shirley, the Governor of the Province. Will Berkeley name any books he wishes sent? Also, how should the benefaction be recorded? Tar-water has cured his rheumatism (Ser. B, vol. 15, letter 249).

For the steps taken by Berkeley on his return to London to deal

with the money subscribed for the Bermuda scheme, see my *Life of Berkeley*, pp. 145–8. This £200 was, no doubt, set aside for contingencies.

Bearcroft's letter bears two dates, viz. Charterhouse, 8 July 1748 and 18 April 1747. The latter is probably the date of writing, and the former, whether 1748 be a mistake for 1747, or not, is probably a reference date ; 8 July 1747 appears on Berkeley's reply, and was probably the date of Berkeley's letter, with 18 April 1747 as a reference date.

250 To BEARCROFT

Archives of the SPG, Ser. B, vol. 15, letter 191a. See note on No. 249

This letter is in reply to Bearcroft's letter. For his gift of Latin classics in 1732 see No. 161 ; his earlier gift of Greek classics from his own library is not, I think, mentioned elsewhere ; but his letter to Johnson from Newport (No. 152) on the eve of his departure tells of Greek and Latin books set aside for Yale. He visited Harvard a few days later (Rand, *Berkeley's American Sojourn*, pp. 43 ff.), and saw the Library and noted the deficiency in classics, and he may have sent some Greek books there before he sailed.

Cadbury notes that an SPG Committee selected the books, which were approved by the Society for purchase on 15 January 1748, bought, and forwarded through Governor Shirley. Harvard accepted the gift on 26 Dec. 1748, and returned thanks both to the Society and to Berkeley.

In my *Life* I repeated Rand's statement that the gift-books to Harvard perished in the fire of 1764, and with pleasure I now record that Cadbury in his above-mentioned article appears to have established that some have survived, and with the aid of press-marks etc. have been identified by him.

251 To PERCIVAL

ALS in EP, vol. 124 ; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, p. 156

This is the last of Berkeley's extant letters to Percival, bringing the correspondence that had lasted for forty years, to within four months of the Earl's death.

Purcell was the Earl's land agent, who had been to see the Bishop twelve months previously about the Earl's repayment of the loan (see No. 235n).

The naval successes to which Berkeley refers were, no doubt, Anson's victory over de la Jonquière (3 May 1747), with the capture of the men of war and many merchantmen, and Hawke and Pococke's capture of a large convoy on 14 October 1747. These successes virtually drove the French fleets off the seas.

George Lyttleton (1709–73) ; educated at Eton and Oxford, he entered Parliament, opposed Walpole, and became the Prince of

Wales' secretary. He wrote for *Commonsense* and *The Craftsman.* He was known as ' the good Lord Lyttleton.' He wrote several books, including *Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St Paul,* addressed to Gilbert West. Presumably this must be the book to which Berkeley here refers, but the date for it given in the *DNB,* 1748, would be too late for this letter. Lyttleton was Commissioner of the Treasury 1744–9, and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1755.

Gilbert West (1703–56), author ; educated at Eton and Oxford ; a friend of Pitt, Pope and Lyttleton ; he composed poetry, translated Pindar, and was awarded the D.C.L. at Oxford for his *Observations on the History and Evidences of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ,* 1747 ; the work went through at least four editions.

252 To PERCIVAL (*fils*)

ALS in EP, vol. 125 ; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 157

A fine epilogue to a friendship and correspondence of forty years duration. On Sir John Percival, the first Earl of Egmont, see No. 2n, and vol. VIII, pp. 11–13. On his son John who now succeeds as second Earl of Egmont see No. 205n.

253 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxxv

The pictures borrowed from Prior were returned to his executor shortly after his death, see No. 265.

Berkeley had made a close study of art, especially Italian art, during his second continental tour, and he writes of art here with great decision. He had his children educated in the various arts, and a painting master formed part of the household at Cloyne ; for his wife's painting and that of Julia and William see No. 234n. A *stint* is a stop or stay, and hence it came to mean a *task,* i.e. the amount of work measured by the stop.

The Round Towers of Ireland, half belfry, half fortress, are in many places striking features of the landscape. They were built as a protection against the raiding parties of the Danes. The Round Tower of Cloyne is about 90 feet high, and its wall at the base is 3 ft. 8 in. thick ; it is still in very good condition, and is highly ornamental, standing at the entrance to the cathedral grounds. It is known as the ' steeple ' in the Chapter *Acts,* which mention this storm and the consequent repairs.

Stock here has the following note on William, ' a fine youth, the second [a mistake for *fourth*—ED.] son of the Bishop whose loss at an early age was thought to have stuck too close to his father's heart.' William died towards the end of February 1751, see No. 258 for Berkeley's touching and beautiful expression of his sorrow.

254 To JOHNSON

ALS in Columbia University Library, seen by me there in 1933, and text checked

Dr Johnson was the first President of King's College, New York, that became Columbia University, and the presence of the original in the Library is, therefore, no accident. Berkeley's own college in the West was never built ; his own plan for higher education in America had been frustrated, but he had given the best years of his life to it, and he must have found some consolation in being consulted about the founding of this college, and in the recognition by Yale of his endeavours. The ' elegant address . . . in the Latin tongue ' and ' the agreeable specimens of learning ' (No. 256) were, it would seem, instances of annual reports sent to him from Yale. Other instances are to be found in *Documentary History of Yale University*, 1916, by F. B. Dexter ; e.g. p. 300, The Benefactors of Yale College, 1733,

> Divine Philosophy, a goddess fair
> Bespeaks our thoughts, our most indulgent care. . . .
> A tribe of heav'nly minds attend her shrine ;
> With well distinguish'd wreaths do Newton shine
> And Berkeley, both immortal, both divine.
>
> Yalensia owes the pow'r of knowing more
> Than all her Sisters on the western shore
> To Berkeley's lib'ral hand that gave a prize
> To animate her sons to glorious fame.

King's College was founded at New York in 1754, and Johnson was appointed its first President. After nine years there he resigned his post and returned to his ministerial life at Stratford, where he died on 6 January 1772. See *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, by H. and C. Schneider, New York 1929.

One of his sons, William Samuel Johnson, visited England later, met the Bishop's widow, and made friends with George Berkeley Jr. Johnson subsequently took a prominent part in the American revolution, and helped to frame the constitution of the U.S.A. He was President of Columbia College from 1787 to 1800, when, like his father before him, he retired to Stratford, dying there in 1819 at the age of ninety-two (A. C. Fraser, *LL*, p. 323n).

The American pamphlet on tar-water was, no doubt, the ' small tract . . . printed in America ' that Berkeley lent to Prior, and asked Archdale to recover from Prior's library (No. 265). On Prior's *Authentick Narrative* . . . see No. 219n. For specimens of Berkeley's correspondence with his patients see Nos. 220, 246.

255 To JOHNSON

On the provenance of the letters to Johnson see No. 152n

On the same day Berkeley wrote to Johnson and to Clap, the energetic President of Yale, who succeeded Elisha Williams as Rector on 2 April 1740. On Mr Honyman, Rector of Trinity Church, Newport, Berkeley's first host in America, see No. 137n.

256 To CLAP

ALS in Yale University Library, checked there by me in 1933

A. C. Fraser (*LL*, p. 324n) reports, apparently on information received by him from the Librarian of Yale, that ' the agreeable specimens of learning,' forwarded by Clap, were by Berkeley scholars, and that the one concerned the comet at the time of the Flood, and the other the eclipse of the sun in the tenth year of Jehoiakim.

257 To BRACKSTONE

ALS in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 157. It bears the address, ' To Mr James Brackstone in Copshall Court near the Exchange, London'

Berkeley answers the objection that the acid cures, not the tar. Dr D. W. Linden (see No. 222n) who translated part of *Siris* into French, wrote in his *Treatise on the origin, nature, and virtues of chalybeat waters . . .* with an appendix on the Selter water, p. 302, ' Yet nothing was performed salutary on this inquiry [*re* acid—Ed.] till the great Bishop of Cloyne discovered to us the tar-water.' On the acid see *Siris*, SS. 7, 8, 12, 60, etc.

258 To BENSON

Eliza Berkeley's Preface to Monck Berkeley's ' Poems,' page ccccxxxvii

This is the gem of Berkeley's letters, an almost perfect expression of parental love and longing. Mrs Berkeley says it was addressed either to the Earl of Egmont or to Bishop Benson. I feel certain it was addressed to the latter. The first Earl was dead, and though Berkeley had been on intimate terms with both him and his son, the second Earl, he never wrote to either of them with such warmth of affection. Here he opens his very soul, as well he might do, to a Bishop whom he once called ' Titus, the joy of mankind.' The argument is clinched, it seems to me, by the tender words that Benson uses a year later (18 February 1752) in his letter preserved in the Berkeley Papers and printed by Fraser (*LL*, p. 332), ' I am . . . very sorry to find that in another complaint still more sensibly affecting you there is, after so long a time, so little change made, and that the wound is still opening and bleeding afresh.'

259 To PRIOR

Stock, page lxxxvi

In 1746 Foulis, the Glasgow printer, offered to publish by subscription an edition of Plato's Works in ten volumes ; he made a similar offer in 1751, for nine volumes, in quarto and in folio ; see *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1751. The proposals fell through, Fraser, *LL*, p. 327n.

260 To JOHNSON

ALS in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania ; I have seen a photostat copy, and checked the text

On the specimens of learnings sent periodically by Clap, the Rector of Yale see No. 254n.

John Hutchinson (1674–1737) was, according to the *DNB*, a ' half-educated and fanciful man.' An expert in biblical symbolism, and possessing a considerable knowledge of Hebrew, he wrote against Newton's doctrines and on the relation between geology and the book of Genesis, maintaining that the unpointed Hebrew text supported his interpretations. Bishop Horne took up his teaching, and a Hutchinsonian party in the Church was formed. His *Works* in 12 volumes were published in 1748 . . . *Moses' Principia*, London 1724, and *Moses sine principio*, 1730, were his best-known books.

261 To CLAP

ALS in Yale University Library, checked by me there in 1933

On Clap's annual reports see No. 254n.

262 To PRIOR

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS 39311 ; first published by Fraser, LL, page 328

This is the last of the letters to Prior, closing a correspondence that had lasted over forty years. Of Berkeley's personal letters to Prior some ninety survive. In the early autumn of 1750 Prior had paid his usual visit to Cloyne, and drove with the Berkeleys to Killarney, where they spent a week. A happy little picture of the party visiting Lohort Castle and staying the night there is contained in Cooley's letter of 4 September 1750 to the Earl of Egmont, printed in my *Life*, p. 212. Prior appears to have been in good health at the time, but in the following winter his health began to fail, and after a recovery and a relapse he died on 21 October 1751, some ten weeks from the date of this letter.

William Berkeley, the Bishop's younger brother, was fourth in the family. In No. 104 he appears as a cornet quartered at Sligo, and he is to receive a gift or loan of £40 from his elder brother. He is almost

certainly the Captain William Berkeley (No. 242) to whom his cousin left £100, and the Captain William Berkeley of St George's Dragoons who ' held a command in Fife in the " Forty-five ",' and was remembered there with gratitude forty years later ; see Preface to Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, p. cxxxviii.

This is, I think, the only mention in the letters of Gleadowe's bank ; yet Berkeley says he had dealt there for over thirty years. It was formerly James Swift and Co., often mentioned in the letters. According to F. G. Hill's *The Bank of Ireland*, 1783–1946, Messrs Swift and Co. was founded in 1735 (this is not consistent with the ' above thirty years '), was transferred to Castle Street in 1741, and on Swift's death in 1745 was taken over by Thomas Gleadowe. A run on Dublin banks occurred in 1754–5 ; several crashed, and only three survived, La Touche, Finlay and Gleadowe. It is evident from this letter that the ' run ' had already cast its shadow. On the moidore see No. 135n.

Charles Montesquieu (1689–1755), Baron, French publicist, philosopher, and *littérateur* ; he advocated study as a sovereign remedy against woe, saying he had never had a sorrow that an hour's reading would not remove. *L'esprit des lois* 1748, was his *chef d'œuvre*.

263 To ARCHDALE

Stock, page lxxxvii

Mervyn Archdale, or Archdall (1723–91) was addressed at Prior's house, and was either a relative or close friend of the Prior family ; he seems to have acted as executor of Thomas Prior and took his place as Dublin agent for the Bishop. At this time Archdale was a young clergyman in the diocese of Cloyne ; later he was Rector of Attanagh, and Domestic Chaplain to Bishop Pococke (see No. 214n). He attained celebrity as the author of *Monasticon Hibernicum*. Through Archdale Berkeley secured books and papers of his own that had been sent to Prior, communications about tar-water, the die for the medal, etc. Archdale owned the portrait of the Bishop, painted or copied by Mrs Berkeley (see No. 234) and sent as a gift to Prior. The Berkeley letters to Prior may have passed through his hands, and he is thanked by Stock for communicating letters. He entered Trinity College in 1739, and graduated B.A. in 1744 and M.A. in 1747.

The monument to Prior with its noble Latin inscription by Berkeley (see vol. VII, p. 380) is in the porch of Christ Church Cathedral at the SW. entrance. The lettering needs attention from time to time, and it has been restored on more than one occasion by the Royal Dublin Society that owes much to Prior.

In addition to the inscription cut in stone, three copies exist on paper, and they and the five letters to Archdale about them form a neat little bibliographical story. This letter, No. 263, went with the first draft of the inscription, and Stock prints both the letter and its inscription ; but Stock gives it no date and prints it out of order. Internal evidence, however, shows that it is the first of the five letters, and that

it was written a day or two before No. 264 which is dated 3 November. In No. 263 he sent his first draft of the inscription, but he forgot to mention the Dublin Society, and in No. 264 he repairs the omission. A month later he wrote No. 266 asking to have the inscription published. In No. 267 he thanked Archdale for publishing it, and said that if it was to be engraved, he desired to make some trifling alterations. These were made in No. 268, which gives his ' last amendments.'

The correspondence with Archdale thus mentions three copies of the inscription: (*a*) the first, which omitted to mention the Society; (*b*) the second, which mentions the Society, but lacks the term *institutor*, founder; (*c*) the third, which adds this term, makes other slight changes, and corresponds exactly with the inscription cut in stone. Curiously enough all three copies survive, (*a*) and (*c*) in autograph manuscripts. (*a*) is among the Berkeley Papers in the British Museum, Add. MS 39311; (*b*) is printed by Monck Berkeley in his *Literary Relics*, pp. 315–16; (*c*) was found by me in a London dealer's shop, and is now in the Library Trinity College, Dublin. From it Stock printed, and Fraser followed him; it contains the English addition (see No. 268) that the Bishop of Meath (Henry Maule) desired. For fuller details see my note in *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, XLI, C 4, pp. 158–9.

264 To ARCHDALE

ALS in British Museum Add. MS 39311; first published in Proc. R.I. Acad., xli, C 4, page 158

Fraser overlooked this letter which is the key to the correct placing of the other letters about the Prior inscription (see No. 263n). The original of the draft enclosed in this letter has disappeared, but its text is that given by Monck Berkeley, *LR*, pp. 315–16. The letter is addressed, ' To the Reverend Mr Archdall at the late Mr Prior's house in Bolton Street Dublin Free G : Cloyne.'

265 To ARCHDALE

LR, page 307

This letter and the next two concern the Berkeley Gold Medal for Greek. I have given the history of this notable foundation in *Hermathena*, LXV, 1945, and have shown photographs of the three stages of the medal, obverse and reverse, in my *Life*, opp. p. 164.

This little incident was due to a misprint of *Clogher* for *Cloyne* in the *Dublin Journal*. It had the happy result of deciding Berkeley to place the foundation, already in his lifetime some seventeen years old, upon a permanent footing. By his generous endowment and the arrangement that he made with the Board of Trinity College this beautiful and distinctive medal, like the coeval Berkeley scholarship at Yale, has been awarded continuously for over two hundred and fifteen years, and the list of medallists is almost complete to date. The Latin and the Greek

mottoes, chosen by Berkeley, are unchanged; the race-horse has grown progressively more beautiful. The original die does not show the artist's name; the intermediate die is by John Kirk (1724–76), and it bears the distinguishing initials 'G.B.'). The present die was cut in 1867 by J. S. and A. B. Wyon.

The late Bishop of Clogher, Stearne, was a very generous benefactor of the College, but he had done nothing specifically for Greek, and the paragraph that nettled Berkeley was all a mistake; the reporter or printer confused the living Bishop of Cloyne with the deceased Bishop of Clogher.

The 'two small books' lent to Prior were, no doubt: (1) *Recherches sur les vertus de l'eau de goudron*, 1745, a translation into French of part of *Siris*, attributed to D. R. Bouiller, reviewed in *Acta Eruditorum*, Leipzig 1746, pp. 466–9: (2) a small tract on tar-water, printed in America and sent over by Johnson, see No. 254. On the pictures borrowed from Prior see No. 253.

266 To ARCHDALE

Stock, page lxxxvi; LR, page 309

On the inscription for the Prior monument see No. 263n; on the Berkeley Gold Medal for Greek see No. 265n. Berkeley added the 'G.B.' because of the erroneous report in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* that the Bishop of Clogher had given medals for Greek.

267 To ARCHDALE

Stock, page lxxxvi

On the inscription for the Prior monument see No. 213n; on the Berkeley Gold Medal for Greek see No. 265n.

268 To ARCHDALE

Stock, page lxxxviii

On the Prior inscription see No. 263n; the Bishop of Meath, Henry Maule, was active in Dublin cultural circles, see No. 234n.

269 To GERVAIS

ALS in the Roderic Terry collection, Newport, R.I., where I saw it in 1933, subsequently studying it by photograph; first published in Stock, page c

On Gervais see 192n and a similar passage in No. 223; since 1744 he had been Dean of Tuam, but he had evidently been spending the winter in Dublin, and taking part in the festivities of the capital. Berkeley often rallies his friend on his gout and his amusements, attributing his resilient nature to his Gascon birth; hence the phrase

'enjoying France at second-hand.' *Castle-hunters* are those who hunt at Dublin Castle, i.e. who sought preferment by attendance at the functions and festivities of the seat of government. See No. 88n for a description of the scene at the Castle when the Deanery of Derry was vacant.

Berkeley's eldest son, Henry, was an invalid, and seems to have been sent abroad about this time; he was on the Continent when his father died some nine months after the date of this letter. Gervais had offered (No. 223) hospitality to Henry at Lismore, but the Bishop thought Lismore too high and exposed for a weak constitution accustomed to the sheltered, mild valley of Cloyne.

This letter, written less than four months before he left Cloyne for Oxford disproves Stock's statement that he intended to resign his bishopric and settle permanently in Oxford. The 'quiet retreat' in which he chooses to pass the evening of life is clearly Cloyne and not Oxford, and he hopes to share it with his Gascon friend.

270 To FAULKNER

The 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1754, vol. 24, page 434

It has the heading 'Dublin August 31. The late bishop of Cloyne a little before his death sent Mr Faulkner the printer the following case.'

Chief Events of Berkeley's Life
List of Berkeley's Writings
Addenda
Additional Letter
Corrigenda

THE
CHIEF EVENTS OF BERKELEY'S LIFE

in chronological order

A.D.	AET.	
1685		George, born 12 March at Kilkenny, eldest son of William Berkeley of Thomastown, a gentleman farmer with a revenue appointment, who held a military commission during the Jacobite rebellion. George was brought up at Dysert Castle on a bend of the river Nore, two miles from Thomastown. He had five brothers and one sister.
1696	11	Entered Kilkenny College, 17 July. [Thomas Prior entered six months later.]
1699	14	In July, explored the Cave of Dunmore.
1700	15	Entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a Pensioner, 21 March; studied mathematics, classics, logic, and philosophy; Scholar of the House, 1702.
1704	19	Graduated B.A. After graduation he stayed on in College, waiting, no doubt, for a Fellowship to fall vacant. He gave private tuitions, studied, and wrote. From this period date his description of the Cave of Dunmore, mathematical papers that appeared in his *Miscellanea Mathematica*, a paper on time and other studies in immaterialism ('my first arguings', not extant) preparatory to his *New Theory of Vision* and the *Principles*.
1707	22	Elected Fellow, 9 June, after the statutory examination. Began his *Philosophical Commentaries*, and finished them in the autumn of 1708. Read his 'Of Infinites' before the Dublin (Philosophical) Society, 19 November 1707. [The Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant, April 1707—November 1708.] Ordained Deacon 19 February 1709, Priest 1710. Graduated M.A. 1707. Held various College appointments: Tutor, 1707; Librarian, 1709; Junior Dean, 1710–11; Junior Greek Lecturer, 1712. Made the acquaintance of Sir John Percival, afterwards 1st Earl of Egmont, in 1708. Preached sermons on Immortality and Passive Obedience.
1713	28	First visit to England, January; he went for reasons of health, and to publish his *Three Dialogues*. Welcomed by London wits. Presented at Court by Swift. Met Addison, Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, and Steele. Wrote series of papers in the *Guardian* against Free-thinkers. In June he went to Oxford for the Act, and stayed two months. In October as Chaplain to the Earl of

Peterborough he went by Paris and Lyons to Leghorn, crossing the Alps in mid-winter.

1714 | 29 | Returned to London about the time of the Queen's death. [Queen Anne died 1 August.] Spent the two years' interval between the two Continental tours mostly in England, but was in Dublin in February 1715. In the summer toured the West of England, and was at Flaxley (Glos.) in July. That autumn he stayed in London, sending to Percival vivid pictures of the changing political scene during the rebellion. Recommended for the living of St. Paul's, Dublin ; his sermons on Passive Obedience represented as disloyal.

1716 | 31 | The second Continental tour began in the autumn. Berkeley, acting as tutor to St. George Ashe, invalid son of the Bishop of Clogher, again passed through Paris, and crossing the Alps reached Rome via Turin early in January, staying there till March. The travellers then moved south to Naples, and after a tour in Apulia, and a four months' stay in the island of Ischia, they made their way to Sicily and wintered there. They were at Messina during the earthquake of 1718. We have little information about the last two years of the tour, but we know that the cities of Northern Italy were visited, and that Berkeley was at Rome for Easter week 1718. Berkeley reached London in the autumn of 1720, having written his *De Motu* on the return journey.

1720 | 35 | For a year or so after his return Berkeley seems to have lived in London, studying public questions, and the moral and social problems to which the South Sea Bubble gave rise ; and not neglecting his personal problem of preferment. He remained in touch with former friends, Percival, Pope, Arbuthnot, and Atterbury, and made new friends, e.g. Benson, Secker, and Rundle. Their common interest in architecture brought him the friendship of the Earl of Burlington, who introduced him to the Duke of Grafton. The Duke was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in August 1721, and promised him preferment there.

1721 | 36 | Berkeley returned to Dublin in September, took the degrees of B.D. and D.D., and for two and a half years assisted in the government, teaching, and administration of the College. Held the office of Senior Proctor, and lectured in Divinity, Greek, and Hebrew. Appointed by the Crown in 1722 to the Deanery of Dromore, a sinecure, he had to fight the case against the Bishop's appointee, who was in possession, and who won eventually. In 1722 he announced privately his Bermuda scheme. On the death of Hester Van Homrigh (' Vanessa ') in 1723 he found himself co-executor and legatee.

1724 | 39 | Appointed Dean of Derry, 4 May, and resigned his Senior Fellowship. The Bermuda scheme publicly announced in the autumn of 1724, submitted to the Law Officers and approved

		by them, 1725 ; its charter granted, 1725 ; discussed by Parliament and approved, May 1726 ; a grant of £20,000 agreed with the Treasury, to be charged on the Crown Lands in St. Christopher's. In August 1728 Berkeley married Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Forster.
1728	43	Berkeley and his bride, with Miss Hancock and Messrs. Dalton, James, and Smibert, sailed for America in the first week of September. Putting in at Virginia, they visited the College at Williamsburg. The Berkeleys went on by sea to Newport (R.I.), where they landed 23 January 1729. Here they stayed for two years and eight months. Berkeley bought a farm of 100 acres and built a house on it. He occupied his time in preaching, writing his *Alciphron*, conducting a philosophical study-circle and corresponding on philosophical matters with Samuel Johnson, who became first President of King's College, New York. In 1731 he received word from Walpole through the Bishop of London that the grant would not be paid. In September he left Rhode Island, and spent twelve days in Boston, where he visited Harvard and preached in King's Chapel. Embarking 21 September they reached London 30 October.
1731	46	Lived in London (Green Street) for two and a half years, awaiting preferment. Preached the S.P.G. Anniversary sermon 18 February 1732. Nominated for the Deanery of Down, but his appointment was opposed by the Irish Government. Appointed Bishop of Cloyne, January 1734. Left London at the end of April, and was consecrated in St. Paul's Church, Dublin 19 May 1734.
1734	49	Took up residence at the See House, Cloyne, in the late summer, and lived there till within six months of his death, except for one winter he spent in Dublin, attending to his Parliamentary duties, and one or two short absences. He toured his diocese, performing his episcopal duties ; his chief ecclesiastical reform was his revival of the office of rural dean. His pen was constantly in action, mostly on public questions connected with the welfare of Ireland and her industrial development.
1737	52	In the autumn he went to Dublin for the meeting of Parliament, took his seat in the House of Lords, and remained for the session. He spoke against 'the Blasters'. He established a spinning school at Cloyne, a house of work for vagrants, and managed various agricultural relief-works.
1744	59	Epidemics in 1739 and 1740 called Berkeley's attention to public health and hygiene. After experimenting with remedies for some years, early in 1744 he came before the public with tar-water as a cheap, safe, household remedy of wide efficacy, with a philosophical theory behind it. As author of *Siris* he became famous, and a controversy about the remedy raged for some years. He paid a short visit, apparently, to Dublin in

August 1746; and in August 1750, he and his family and a considerable party, which included Thomas Prior, drove from Cloyne to Lohort Castle, spent the night there, and went on to spend a week at Killarney. In the summer of 1752 he and his family took ship for Bristol, and went to Oxford to see his son, George, entered at Christ Church. They took a house in Holywell Street, where the Bishop died 14 January 1753. He was buried in the Chapel of Christ Church.

LIST OF BERKELEY'S WRITINGS

References are to volumes of the present edition; for further details see the relevant Introductions in the present edition, and *A Bibliography of George Berkeley*, by Jessop and Luce, 1934, Oxford.

I. PUBLISHED BY BERKELEY

in order of publication

Including the later editions published in his lifetime

1707	*Arithmetica* and *Miscellanea Mathematica.* 1 vol. London.	IV.165 ff.
1709	*An Essay towards a New Theory of Vision.* Dublin. 1709 (Old Style? Probably February 1710), 'second edition,' Dublin. 1732, appended to *Alciphron*, London, also Dublin. 1732, appended to same, 2nd ed., London.	I.161 ff.
1710	*A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge.* Dublin. 1734, 2nd ed., London, with a new edition of the *Three Dialogues* in the same volume.	II.21 ff.
1712	*Passive Obedience.* Dublin; also London. 1712, 'second edition,' London. 1713, 'third edition,' London.	VI.15 ff.
1713	*Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous.* London. 1725, 'second edition,' London. 1734, London, in one volume with the *Principles.*	II.165 ff.
1713	Essays in *The Guardian.*	VII.181 ff.
1715	*Advice to the Tories who have taken the Oaths.* London.	VI.53 ff.
1717	*Observations . . . on the Eruptions of Fire and Smoak from Mount Vesuvio.* In *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, London, no. 354, vol. 30, pp. 708–13.	IV.247–50
1721	*De Motu.* London. 1752, in Berkeley's *Miscellany.*	IV.11 ff.
1721	*An Essay towards preventing the Ruine of Great Britain.* London. 1752, in Berkeley's *Miscellany.*	VI.69 ff.
1724	*A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations, and for converting the Savage Americans to Christianity.* London. (1724 is most probably Old Style; apparently published January or February 1725.) 1725, London; also Dublin. 1752, in Berkeley's *Miscellany.*	VII.345 ff.

1732 *A Sermon preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.* London. VII. 114 ff.
1752, in Berkeley's *Miscellany.*

1732 *Alciphron: or, the Minute Philosopher. In seven dialogues.* III.
2 vols. London; also 2 vols. Dublin.
1732, 'second edition,' 2 vols. London. 1752, 'third edition,' 1 vol. London.

1733 *The Theory of Vision, or Visual Language, shewing the Immediate Presence and Providence of a Deity, vindicated and explained.* I.251 ff.
London.

1734 *The Analyst; or, a Discourse addressed to an Infidel Mathematician.* Dublin; also London. IV.65 ff.

1735 *A Defence of Free-thinking in Mathematics.* Dublin; also London. IV.109 ff.

1735 *Reasons for not replying to Mr. Walton's 'Full Answer' in a Letter to P.T.P.* Dublin. IV.147 ff.

1735–7 *The Querist.* Three parts, 1735, 1736, 1737. Dublin; also London. VI.103 ff.
1750, 'second edition,' Dublin. 1750, London. 1750, 'fourth edition,' Dublin. 1750, 'fifth edition,' Dublin. 1751, Glasgow. 1751, 'second edition,' London. 1752, in Berkeley's *Miscellany.*

1737 *Queries relating to a National Bank, extracted from 'The Querist'.* Dublin. IX. 159 f.

1737 *Letter on the Project of a National Bank.* In *Dublin Newsletter,* 2–5 April, and same date in *Pue's Occurrences.* VI.185–7

1738 *A Discourse addressed to Magistrates.* Dublin; also Cork; also London. VI.201 ff.
1738, 'second edition,' London. 1738, 'second edition,' Dublin (first revised text). 1752, in Berkeley's *Miscellany.*

1744 March. *Siris: a Chain of Philosophical Reflexions and Inquiries concerning the Virtues of Tar-water, and divers other subjects.* V.27 ff.
Dublin.
1744, March (title, 'A Chain of . . .'), London. 1744, April (title, 'Philosophical Reflexions . . .'), London. 1744, April, 'second edition,' London. 1744, June, 'new edition,' London. 1744, September, 'second edition,' Dublin. 1747, 'new edition,' London.

1744 *Directions for the Making and Using Tar-water.* In *Dublin Journal,* 8–12 May. V.227 f.

1744 To T. P. Esq. In *Dublin Journal,* 26–9 May.
A very short piece, not reproduced in the present edition. Reprinted, with a small omission and a small addition, in some copies (behind the title page) of *Siris,* 1744, 'new edition,' London, and ibid. 1747, London.

1744, June. *Further Directions for the Making and Using Tar-water.* In *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, vol. 14, p. 327.
Only four paragraphs, two repeated from article of 8–12 May (above) and two repeated in article of 26–9 May (above), and therefore not reproduced in the present edition.

1744, July. *A letter to T . . . P . . ., Esq. on the Virtues of Tar-water.* Dublin. v.171 ff.
1744, July, London. [1744, July, 'second edition,' London. No copy yet found.] 1744, September, 'second edition,' Dublin, appended to 'second edition' of *Siris.* 1744, September, 'third edition,' London. 1744, October, 'second edition,' Dublin. 1746, appended to Thos. Prior's *An Authentic Narrative of the Success of Tar-water*, Dublin, also London ; 1746, to 'new edition' of same, London.

1744, September. *On Tar.* Verse, in some copies only of *Siris*, 'second edition,' Dublin. v.225 f.

1744, October. *On 'Siris' and its Enemies.* In *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, vol 14, p. 559. v.226

1745 *The Bishop of Cloyne's Letter to his Clergy.* In *Dublin Journal*, no. 1942, 15–19 October. vi.227 f.

1745 *The Bishop of Cloyne's Letter to the Roman Catholics of the Diocese of Cloyne.* Ibid. ; again in no. 1943, 19–22 October. vi.229 f.
1746, appended to anon. pamphlet, *An Impartial History of the Life and Death of James the Second*, Dublin. 1752, in Berkeley's *Miscellany.*

1745–6 *Three Letters on the Militia.* In *Dublin Journal*, 17–21 December, 4–7 January, 4–8 February. viii.278 f., 280–2

1746 *A Second Letter . . . to Thomas Prior, Esq. on the Virtues of Tar-water.* v.181 ff.
Appended to Prior's *An Authentic Narrative of the Success of Tar-water*, Dublin, also London, and to 'new edition' of same, 1746, London.

1746 *On the Disputes about Tar-water.* Verse, in Prior's *Authentic Narrative.* v.225

1747 *A Letter . . . to Thomas Prior on the Petrifactions of Lough Neagh in Ireland.* In *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, London, no. 481, vol. 44, pp. 325–8. Dated 20 May 1746. iv.251–3

1747 *A Letter to . . . Thomas Prior, Esq., concerning the Usefulness of Tar-water in the Plague.* Dublin. v.190 ff.
1747, in the next item.

1747, October. *Two letters . . . the one to Thomas Prior . . . the other to the Rev. Dr. Hales, on the benefit of tar-water in fevers.* London. v.203 f.

1749 *A Word to the Wise : or, an Exhortation to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland.* Dublin. VI.235 ff.
1749, 'third edition,' Dublin. 1750, 'fourth edition,' Dublin, also Boston, Mass., also (undated) Waterford. 1750, appended to *The Querist*, London; 1751, to same, Glasgow; 1751, to same, 'second edition,' London. 1752, Dublin. 1752, in Berkeley's *Miscellany*.

1750 *Maxims concerning Patriotism.* Dublin. VI.253–5
1752, in Berkeley's *Miscellany*.

1750 *Observations . . . concerning Earthquakes.* In *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, April, vol. 20, pp. 166 f. IV.255 f.

1752 *A Miscellany.* Dublin; also London.
Of the eleven items, only two appear here for the first time—*Farther thoughts on tar-water*, and *Verses on the prospect of planting arts and learning in America.* V.207 ff. VII.373

II. PUBLISHED POSTHUMOUSLY

In order of writing

A Description of the Cave of Dunmore. IV.257 ff.
One of the three MS drafts is dated 1706. First published in A. C. Fraser's *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, 1871, Oxford.

Of Infinites. IV.235 ff.
1707. First published by S. P. Johnston in *Hermathena*, Dublin, vol. II, 1901, pp. 180–5.

Philosophical Commentaries. I.9 ff.
1707–8. Notes for *Essay on Vision* and *Principles.* First published in A. C. Fraser's *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, 1871, Oxford, and called by him *Commonplace Book of Occasional Metaphysical Thoughts.*

Draft of the Introduction to the *Principles.* II.121 ff.
MS dated 1708. First published by Fraser in C. P. Krauth's edition of *Principles*, 1874, Philadelphia.

Sermon on the revelation of life and immortality, 2 Tim. i.10. VII.9 ff.
MS dated 1708. First published in Fraser's *Life and Letters*, 1871.

Sermon, 'Let your zeal be according to knowlege' (cf. Rom. x.2). VII.16 ff.
c. 1709–12. First published by Luce in *Hermathena*, Dublin, vol. XXII, 1932, pp. 16–28.

Sermon on charity, John xiii.35. VII.27 ff.
Apparently preached at Leghorn, 1714. First published in Fraser's *Life and Letters*, 1871.

Sermon on the mission of Christ, 1 Tim. i.15. VII.40 ff.
Preached at Leghorn, 1714. First published by Fraser, ibid.

Journals of travels in Italy. VII.245 ff.
1717–18. First published by Fraser, ibid.

Notes for sermons preached at Newport, Rhode Island. VII.53 ff.
1729–31. Twelve first published by Fraser, ibid., nos. 13 and 14 in the present edition.

Two sermons on the mystery of godliness, 1 Tim. iii.16. VII.85 ff.
Undated; probably preached at Newport 1729–31. First published by J. Wild in his *George Berkeley*, 1936, Cambridge, Mass.

Sermon on eternal life, 1 John ii.25. VII.105 ff.
Undated. First published by Wild, ibid.

Primary visitation charge. VII.161 ff.
c. 1737. First published in Fraser's *Life and Letters*, 1871.

Address on confirmation. VII.169 f.
Undated. First published by Fraser, ibid.

The Irish patriot or Queries upon Queries. VI.189–92
c. 1738. A satire on some opponents of the proposed national bank. First published by J. M. Hone in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 13 March 1930.

Sermon on text 'Thy will be done,' Matt. vi.10. VII.129 ff.
Dated 1751. First published by J. Wild in *Philosophical Review*, vol. XL, 1931, pp. 526–36.

III. COLLECTED EDITIONS

1784 Dublin; also London. 2 vols., 4to. Probably edited by Joseph Stock. Reprinted 1820, London, 3 vols., 8vo, and 1837, London, 1 vol., large 8vo.

1843 London. 2 vols., 8vo. Ed. by G. N. Wright.

1871 Oxford. 4 vols., large 8vo. Ed. by A. C. Fraser.

1897–8 London. 3 vols., 8vo. Ed. by G. Sampson, with biographical introduction by A. J. Balfour.

1901 Oxford. 4 vols., 8vo. Ed. by A. C. Fraser. Differs extensively from the 1871 ed.

ADDENDA

VOLUME I

Page 139 *ad fin.* The six notes that follow, similar in form to those of the *Philosophical Commentaries*, were written by Berkeley in MS 39304 (B.M.), f.4^{r}. They may well have been rough work for the Preface to the *Three Dialogues*, of which the seventh paragraph echoes the first of these notes in substance and phrase. The fifth note takes up entry No. 678 in the *Commentaries*, where the 'giant' is Locke. They were first published by Fraser, *LL.* pp. 501–2.

> My speculations have the same effect as visiting foreign countrys, in the end I return where I was before, set my heart at ease, and enjoy my self with new satisfaction.
>
> Passing thro all the sciences tho false for the most part, yet it gives us the better insight and greater knowlege of the Truth.
>
> He that would win another over to his opinion must seem to harmonize with him at first and humour him in his own way of talking.
>
> From my childhood I had an unaccountable turn of thought that way.
>
> It doth not argue a dwarf to have greater strength than a Giant because he can throw of the mole-hill which is on him, while the other struggles beneath a mountain.
>
> The whole directed to practise and morality. as appears first from making manifest the nearness and omnipresence of God. 2dly, from cutting off the useless labour of sciences, & so forth.

Ibid. At the beginning of the earlier of the two notebooks (MS 39305) that contain the *Philosophical Commentaries* before the entries proper there are two items to be noticed and one to be reproduced, all written by Berkeley. On f. 96^{v} occur the words, 'Mem. the following Statutes were agreed to and sign'd by the Society consisting of eight persons, Jan: 10. A.D. 1705.' The Statutes, 35 in number, follow on the rectos of ff. 97–101.

On f. 103^{r} occur the words, 'December the seventh in the year one thousand seven hundred and six, Agreed. . . .' There follow four rules for meetings of a group to discuss 'some part of the new philosophy.' The statutes and the rules, together with the following notes on Locke's *Essay*, were first published by Fraser (inaccurately), *LL.*, pp. 23–7. The rules (p. 3) and statutes (pp. 470–2) are reproduced in my *Philosophical Commentaries*, (diplomatic ed.) 1944. The notes occur on f. 102 ; they look like material for a *disputatio*, or examination paper.

> Qu : whether number be in the objects wthout the mind ? L. b.2 c.8, s.9 why powers mediately perceivable thought such, immediately perceivable not. b.2, c.8 s.19.
>
> Whether solids seen b.2 c.9, s.9
>
> Whether discerning, remembering, knowing comparing compounding abstracting etc be simple or complex ideas, same with or different from perception ?
>
> Whether taste be a simple idea since it is combin'd with existence, unity, pleasure or pain ?

Whether all the last-mention'd do not make a complex idea as well as the severall component ideas of a Horse, Shilling etc.

Wherein brutes distinguish'd from men ?

Wherein idiots from mad men ?

Whether any Knowlege without memory ?

God Space b.2, 13, 26, & 15.2

rotation of a fire-brand why makes a circle

Why men more easily admit of infinite duration than infinite expansion ?

Demonstrations in numbers whether more general in their use for the reason Locke gives b.2 c.16 s.4.

Inches etc not settl'd stated lengths against b.2. c.13, s.4

Qu: whether motion extension & time be not definable and therefore complex ideas.

Qu: whether the clearness & distinctness of each greater mode of number be so very signal.

Qu: why Locke thinks we can have ideas of no more modes of Number than we've names for ?

Not all God's attributes properly infinite.
why other ideas besides number etc not capable of infinity ? not rightly sol'd by Locke

infinity and infinite.

No such thing as an obscure, confus'd idea of infinite space.

Power is not perceiv'd by sense

Locke not to be blam'd if tedious about innate ideas, Soul always thinking, extension not essence of body, time can be conceiv'd and measur'd when no motion was, will is not free etc

A thing may be voluntary tho' necessary, query whether it can be involuntary tho' free.

Things belonging to Reflection are for the most part express'd by figures borrow'd from things sensible.

Page 146, *line* 9. The first edition was briefly noticed in *Journal des Sçavans* (Amsterdam), July 1711, p. 210 ; and the Italian translation (1732, Venice) was reviewed in *Bibliothèque Italique*, vol. XIII, 1732, pp. 182–227.

VOLUME II

Page 4, *line* 4. The *Principles* was reviewed in *Journal des Sçavans* (Amsterdam), September 1711, pp. 322–30 ; and in *Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences* (Trévoux), April 1713, pp. 921 f.

Line 19. This sentence needs to be qualified in view of the two early reviews mentioned in the preceding note and of the reviews referred to below in the note relating to p. 150, l. 2. My attention was drawn to most of these by Dr. H. M. Bracken, of the State University of Iowa, who has also noticed that Ephraim Chambers' well-known *Cyclopaedia* (1728, and later editions) includes a number of references to Berkeley, notably in the articles ' Abstraction,' ' Body,' ' Existence,' ' External,' ' Fallacy,' and ' Matter ' ; indeed,

that a writer in *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, vol 21, 1751, p. 56) complained that in those articles too much room had been given to Berkeley (on p. 111 there is a rather empty reply in defence of Chambers). The same writer indicates a number of animadversions on Berkeley in the pages of the magazine, 1747–51. See Dr. Bracken's article 'Berkeley and Chambers' in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. XVII, 1956, pp. 120–6.

Page 105, *line* 38. After *corrections* read instead : '*an idea of spirit*' *was written first*, '*or notion*' *was then inserted after* '*idea*' *and later crossed out.*

Page 150, *line* 2. For *1715* read *1713*. There were reviews also in *Journal Literaire* (The Hague), vol. I, May and June 1713, pp. 147–60, and in *Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences* (Trévoux), October 1713, pp. 2198 f. ; and of the French translation of 1750, ibid., March 1750, pp. 675–90. An extract from the *Dialogues*, with brief comment, appeared in *Memoirs of Literature* (London), vol. III, June 1713, pp. 157 f. (2nd ed., 1722, vol. VI, pp. 426–9).

Page 278 *note*. Berkeley's letter to James is printed in our vol. VII, pp. 143 ff.

VOLUME III

Page 2, *end of first para.* There are remarks on *Alciphron* in a review of Browne's *Things Divine* in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, vol. IV, Part i, 1734, pp. 16–18. The French translation of *Alciphron* is reviewed in *Journal Literaire* (The Hague), vol. XXII, 1734, pp. 67–76, and in *Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences* (Trévoux), 1735, pp. 760–4.

Page 307, *line* 20. *confuted* seems to be a slip (Berkeley's or his printer's) for *computed*.

VOLUME IV

Page 4, *ad fin.* In MS 39305 which contains the *Philosophical Commentaries*, towards the end of the first notebook on f. 166 (inverted) Berkeley has entered the following seven laws of motion, apparently connected with J. Keill's *Introductio ad Veram Physicam* (1702), and two problems. The page is headed 'De Motu' ; but the entry looks quite casual and it has no direct connection with the *De Motu*.

1. Actioni semper contraria & aequalis reactio.

2. Quantitas motus quae colligitur capiendo summam motuum factorum ad eandem partem & differentiam factorum ad contrarias partes non mutatur ab actione corporum inter se.

3. Si duo vel plura corpora motu aequabili, secundum eandem vel contrarias partes ferantur commune illorum centrum gravitatis ante mutuum occursum vel quiescet vel movebitur uniformiter in directum.

4. Si duo corpora versus eandem vel contrarias partes moveantur Quantitas motus ad eandem partem aequalis erit motui qui produceretur Si utrumque corpus versus eandem plagam cum celeritate communis ipsorum centri gravitatis ferretur.

5. Si corpora in se invicem impingent vel etiam utcunque in sese agant communis illorum gravitatis centri status vel quiescendi vel movendi uniformiter in directum, non exinde mutabitur.

6. Si corpus durum vel molle corpori duro vel molli directe impingat, sive illud in quod impingat, quiescat, sive versus eandem partem tardius moveatur, seu [× × ×] versus contrariam sintque motus inaequales, utcumque corpus post impactum una cum communi gravitatis centro junctim movebitur.

7. Si duo corpora in se invicem impingent eadem manebit ipsorum velocitas relativa ante & post impactum h.e eadem celeritate a se mutuo recedunt qua prius accedebant.

Prob. 1

Corporum AB durorum aut mollium post directum impactum determinare motus. Vocetur velocitas corporis A, C, corporis B.c.eritque summa motuum ad eandem partem AC + Bc vel AC − Bc, quae summa (per 2) eadem et ante et post impetum. ergo (per 5) datur momentum corporum eadem velocitate laterum quae proinde [× × ×] $\frac{AC + Bc}{A + B}$ vel $\frac{AC - Bc}{A + B}$

Prob. 2

Idem perficere in Elasticis. Sit A insequens B praecedens [× × ×] prius erit velocitas relativa (− c summa motuum AC + Bc velocitas ad eandem partem post impactum corporis A sit x, unde (per 7) velocitas T & B erit x + C − c & motus T & A erit AxaTaB erit Bx + BC − Bc ergo (per 2) AC + Bc = Ax + Bx + BC − Bc, & $x = \frac{AC - BC + 2Bc}{A + B}$

Si A & B in contrarias partes ferantur, erit motus ad eandem partem AC − Bc, velocitas relativa C + c unde per 2 & 7 invenietur $x = \frac{AC - BC - 2BC}{A - B}$

Page 22 *note.* The quotation is from Leibniz's article, ' Specimen Dynamicum ' in *Acta Eruditorum* (Leipzig), 1695, p. 146.

Page 59 *foot.* There is a review of *The Analyst* (and of Jurin's *Geometry no Friend to Infidelity*) in *Bibliothèque Britannique*, vol. IV, Part II (1735) pp. 400–30.

Page 209 *ad init.* For the recently discovered letter containing a copy of the *De Aestu Aeris* see below on vol. VIII, p. 18. The text of the *De Aestu Aeris*, contained in the Letter (here designated ' L ') differs from the text published in vol. IV, pp. 209 ff. as follows :

Published text
Page 209
Line 1 Non ita . . . in ; L, Vidi nuper
2–5 Qui sane . . . dat ; L, & in eo quidem aestum aeris
5–6 innixam, ambabus ulnis ; L, innixum prono animo
6 Verumtamen haud scio ; L, Verum
7 phaenomenon ; L, eventuum
8–10 sit . . . Tribuit vir cl. ; L, sit non adeo constat. Siquidem tribuit ille
12 loquar ; L, dicam
14 istorum phaenomenon ; L, effectus
16–17 massam . . . contendit ; L, globum terrae pro ista figura commutatum vult tum celebratissimorum virorum Huygenii imprimis & Newtoni suffragiis, tum

20–21 iique . . . reperiantur ; L, hodie reperiantur

22 abhinc . . . sesquianno ; L, mensibus abhinc plus minus quatuordecim

27 quidem . . . potius ; L, viri doctissimi observationes

30 ad phaenomenon ullum explicandum ; L, phaenomeno ulli declarando

31 commode explicari ; L, explicari

Page 210

Line 3 conjugatum ellipseos ; L, secundum ellipseos

Fig. 1 deest in L.

4 volutione ; L, circumvolutione

6 accuratius ; L, majori ἀκριβεια

12 $\frac{1}{4000}$; L, $\frac{1}{5000}$

14 immineret, et ; L, incumberet

16 etiam ; L, insuper

17 arcus b d ; L, arcus c b ; proinde ; L, adeo

18 Quod autem ; L, porro quod

23–24 prima fronte ; L, primo intuitu ; visa sit ; L, videatur

25 percipere ; L, intelligere

26 colligi ; L, clare colligi

29 induisse ; L, induere ; intelligo ; L, video

31 circa ; L, prope ; supra modum ; L, altius

32 apparet, quamobrem ; L, liquet qua ratione

33 tum temporis ; L, eodem tempore

Page 211

Line 1 siquidem ; L, nimirum

6 ubi . . . explicat, haec ; L, haec

14 ad similem effectum . . . excitandum ; L, simili effectui . . . excitando

15 per totum orbem longe celeberrimo ; L, celeberrimo

16 subobscure ; L, forsan subobscure

17–18 a d c b meridianus . . . concipiantur ; L, a c b d planum meridiani in quo a b axis terrae, sol autem & luna in polo constitui supponantur

19 quamvis ; L, unamquamque ; puta d ; L, puta c

23 secundo ; L, iterum

27 etiam ; L, insuper ; qui nunc a ; L, qui, a

29 axis conjugati ; L, axis secundi

31 proinde motus ; L, adeo motus

Fig. 2 deest in L

Page 211 *line* 32 to *page* 212

Line 2 Ut igitur . . . forent aestus ; L, quod si ponantur luminaria locum aliquem inter polum & aequatorem intermedium occupare, rem perpendenti liquido constabit aestum fore majorem minoremve prout illa aequatori vel polo fuerint viciniora

3 demonstrem ; L, ostendam ; quae est . . . iri ; L, inter aestum quemvis & subsequentem sive terra ponatur oblata, sive ad amussim sphaerica sive etiam oblonga, perinde causari

7 mundi ; L, terrae

8 aestuosae ; L, aereae ; tumentis ; L, tumentis, p s parallelus priori ex adverso respondens

12–16 Ducatur . . . *Q.e.d.* ; L, contrarium autem in parallelo huic adverso evenire. Patet arcum f h majorem esse arcu k l ergo propter ellipsin recta f s minor est recta k p & c f minor c k & c s minor c p q.e.d.

Page 234

Line 32 This dating is confirmed by the copy in the Society's Register, exact except for a few differences in spelling, of the *Of Infinites*, recently discovered among the Sloane MSS in the British Museum Add. MS 4812, f. 14 (30). The copy has the note that it was read before the Dublin (Philosophical) Society 19 November 1707. I had based my dating of the *Of Infinites* largely on its relation to Berkeley's *Philosophical Commentaries*, and thus my dating of both those works is incidentally confirmed.

VOLUME V

Page 4, *first para.* That A is the first edition has been cogently argued by A. A. Luce in *Hermathena* (Dublin), no. LXXXIV, 1954, pp. 45–58. W. V. Denard and E. J. Furlong (ibid., LXXXVI, 1955, pp. 66 ff.) have confirmed the order A to E (except that Bi and Bii should be transposed) by discovering the following announcements—Bii, in *General Advertiser*, 30 March (to be published in ' a few days ') ; Bi, ibid., 10 April, and in *Daily Gazetteer*, 12 April ; C, *Daily Post*, 30 April ; D, *London Evening Post*, 16–19 June.

There were reviews of *Siris* in *Bibliothèque Britannique*, vol. XXIII (1744), pp. 218 f., XXIV (1746), pp. 83–98, and in *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, vol. XXXII (1744), p. 477 ; of the French translation (1745) in *Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences* (Trévoux), 1746, pp. 679–701, in *Bibliothèque Françoise*, vol. XLI (1745), pp. 116–27, and in *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, vol. XXXV (1745), pp. 36–77.

Page 168. The order of the editions has been confirmed by W. V. Denard and E. J. Furlong (*Hermathena*, Dublin, no. LXXXVI, 1955, p. 76) with their discovery of the announcements—A, *Dublin Journal*, 3–7 July ; B, *General Advertiser*, 4 July ; C, *Dublin Journal*, 1–4 September ; D, *Daily Gazetteer*, 19 September ; E, *Dublin Journal*, 9–13 October. They have also found that the second London edition (of which no copy is yet known to us) was announced in *Daily Advertiser*, 27 July.

Page 227. An article under Berkeley's name, ' Further Directions for the making and using Tar-water ' in *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, vol. 14 (June 1744, p. 327), consists of the first two paragraphs on p. 227 between two shorter paragraphs.

VOLUME VI

Page 53, *line* 4. The quotation is from *Aeneid*, IV, l. 597.

Page 56, *note* 2. A reviewer has rightly pointed out that *satyr* means 'satire.'

Page 61. The quotations are respectively from *Conj. Catilinae*, X, 4 ; *In Verrem*, II, ii, 55 (138) ; *De bello civili*, III, 83.

Page 90, *note* 1. A copy of the publication has been found in the Sterling Library at Yale University by Dr Ellen D. Leyburn. My overlooking her article in the *Proc. of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. XLIV, Sect. C, no. 3 (1937), pp. 75–98—the relevant pages are 88 f.—was inexcusable. The title-page reads : *Queries relating to a National Bank, Extracted from the Querist. Also the Letter containing a Plan or Sketch of such Bank. Republished with notes*, Dublin (Faulkner). MDCCXXXVII. Pp. 40. Yale University has kindly allowed me to have a photostat copy. The queries reprinted, which are not numbered, are : *Part I.* 1, 4–7, 21, 23–5, 32–3, 35–42, 46–7, 199–208, 210–26, 229–30, 232–3, 236, 238–46, 251–6, 258–78, 280–7 ; *Part II.* 7–19, 22–32, 36–8, 40, 43, 46–52, 55–7, 62–5, 67–8, 70–2, 74, 78, 84, 87–91, 94–101, 103, 108–11, 120–4, 129–38, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148–9, 251–2 ; *Part III.* 8–61, 65–7, 79–92, 94, 102–8, 119–28, 130–2, 226, 308–9, 315–18, 324. A reference to the table in vol. VI, pp. 96–100 will show which of those queries were omitted from the 1750 and later editions of *The Querist*. The Advertisement indicates that the selection was made by Berkeley. The only changes of text are in Part I : in qu. 245 the second of the original three sentences is omitted, and to qu. 200 a footnote is added, 'N.B. Since the publication of these Querists, the Hamburghers have been obliged by the King of Denmark to shut up their Bank.' On the Letter named in the title page see note below relating to p. 185.

Page 92, *note*. Add further articles by Johnston : 'A synopsis of Berkeley's monetary philosophy' in *Hermathena*, 1940, no. LV, pp. 73–86 ; 'Locke, Berkeley and Hume as monetary theorists' ibid., 1940, no. LVI, pp. 77–83 ; 'Bishop Berkeley and kindred thinkers' ibid., 1942, no. LIX, pp. 30–43.

Page 185. The Letter was republished, addressed 'To A. B. Esq.,' in Berkeley's *Queries relating to a National Bank*, 1737 (see above, note relating to p. 90), with the following differences : *Page* 185, *line* 11 : *for instance* is omitted. *Line* 16 : after *minted* read footnote, 'No country hath more natural advantages. Our wants therefore are mostly to be resolved into the want of skill and industry in our people ; the proper encouragement whereof consists in ready payments. These payments must be made with money, and money is of two sorts, specie or paper. Of the former, we neither have a sufficient quantity, nor yet means of acquiring it. Of the latter sort, we may have what we want, as good and current as any gold for domestic uses. Why should we not therefore reach forth our hand, and take of that sort of money which is in our power ; and which makes far the greater part of the wealth of the most flourishing States in Europe? This, by promoting industry at home, may advance our credit abroad ; and in the event, multiply our gold and silver.' *Line* 17 : for *an hundred* read *twenty* and footnote, 'It seems very evident that, be the fund what it will ; or in case there was no fund at all ; yet those notes would circulate with full credit, if they were sure to pass in all payments of the revenue. That is to say, the Government itself could give more credit to that paper, than any other security now current among

us.' *Line* 19 : for *particular security* read *securities*. *Page* 186, *line* 1 : before *cashiers* insert *treasurer* ; after *officers* read footnote, ' Among these it is proposed, that there be two managers with salaries : one of whom always to attend ; and that such officers be at first named in the Act, and afterward replaced by the visitors.' *Line* 5 : for *inspectors* read *visitors* ; after *great office* read footnote, ' No just jealousy can be conceived of the power of such visitors, inasmuch as they are to give no new directions, but only see that the directions of the legislature be observed.' *Line* 8 : for *inspectors* read *visitors*. *Line* 9 : after *every year* read footnote, ' It is objected, that this were too much trouble to be expected from visitors who have no salaries. But if four times be thought too often, twice may do. It is hardly to be supposed, that gentlemen would begrudge the attendance of two days in the year *gratis*, for the service of their country ; or if there be such gentlemen, it cannot be supposed that they would be chosen by ballot. But this may be provided against, by allowing persons, who cannot attend, leave to decline the office, and electing others in their stead.' *Line* 10 : for *bill* read *bills*. *Line* 11 : after *Parliament* read footnote, ' Under the direction of the Parliament, the public weal will prescribe a limit to the bank notes, which will always preserve their use and value, provided they are multiplied only in proportion to industry, and to answer to the demands of industry. Paper credit can never be so secure of doing good to a State, as by making the demands of industry its measure, and the increase of industry its end. The same holds also with regard to gold and silver. The not considering this seems to have been the great oversight.' *Line* 14 : for *thereof* read *of this Bank* ; *the profits whereof shall be accounted for in Parliament, and applied under the direction of the legislature, to the promoting of public works and manufactures*. To which read footnote, ' Men disposed to object, will confound the most different things. We have had, indeed, schemes of private association formerly proposed, which some may mistake for National Banks. But it doth not appear, that any scheme of this nature was ever proposed in these kingdoms : and among the foreign banks perhaps there will not be found one established on so clear a foot of credit, contrived for such a general and easy circulation ; and so well secured from frauds and accidents, as that which it is now hoped may, by the wisdom of our legislature, be modelled and erected in Ireland.' *Line* 16 : *perhaps* is omitted. *Line* 17 : for *inspectors* read *visitors*. *Line* 19 : for *altogether* read *perhaps altogether*. *Line* 40 : *the scheme of* is omitted ; for *in* read *and*. *Page* 187, *line* 14 : *Sir* is omitted.

Page 189. Dr Ellen Leyburn (see note above relating to p. 90) plausibly suggests that *The Irish Patriot* was written in the first flush of disappointment at the rejection of a Bill for a National Bank, i.e. 1737–8. *Note* 1, *line* 2 : The N.L.I. reference number is now MS 2979.

Page 195, *end of first para.* A French translation of the *Discourse* appeared in *Bibliothèque Britannique*, vol. XI, Part ii, 1738, pp. 308–47.

Page 225, *line* 10 *from foot*. Professor Furlong of Dublin University informs me that Roman Catholic students had long been admitted. Query 191 therefore means that the obligations mentioned should be waived.

Page 233, *line* 3. A copy of the second Dublin edition has been found in the National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

Page 242, *line* 5. *Labor est etiam ipse voluptas*, Manilius, IV, 55.

Page 248, *line* 1. Quotation is from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 428.

Page 253, *line* 1. 1750 edition omits *easily*.

Page 255, *line* 3. 1750 edition reads *But a patriot*.

VOLUME VII

Page 186, *note.* After *Published* add *by Thomas Parnell.*

Page 188 ff. Mr. E. J. Furlong has published evidence, based on the punctuation and typography of the original issues, for his view that Steele wrote part of Essay, no. 39. See his article in *Hermathena*, no. LXXIX (1957), p. 76, and his review of vol. VII of this edition, ibid. no. LXXXVIII (1956), p. 109.

Page 304, *line* 8. On *buffaloes* see note, ibid., p. 332.

Page 350 *note.* My statement about the seal is from the letter of a correspondent who states that she had seen it there. Whether she meant the seal itself or its impress I cannot say.

Page 361, *ad fin.* The following list of subscriptions is contained in Add. MS 39311 (B.M.), f. 63. It was first published by Fraser, *LL.*, p. 107.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR BERMUDA

	£		£
Dean of York and his brother	300	Edward Harley Esq.	100
Earl of Oxford	200	Benjamin Hoare Esq.	100
Dr. Strafford	100	Lady Betty Hastings	500
Sir Matthew Decker	100	Sir Robt. Walpole	200
Lady, who desires to be unknown	500	Duke of Chandois	200
Lord Bateman	100	Thomas Stanhope Esq.	100
— Archer Esq., of Soho Square	500	Mrs. Drelincourt	100
Dr. Rundle	100	Dr. Pelling	100
Dr. Grandorge	100	Another clergyman; (added in another hand) Bp. Berkeley	100
Lord Pembroke	300	Mrs. Road	100
Lord Peterborough	105	Lady, who desires to be unknown	100
Lord Arran	300	Gentleman, who desires to be unknown	160
Lord Percivall	200		
Archibald Hutcheson	200		
John Wolfe Esq.	100		

VOLUME VIII

Page 18, *ad fin.* As indicated at the end of volume VIII, p. 312, the earliest known letter of Berkeley's, dated 11 June 1706, was discovered too late for inclusion in that volume. The main portion of the letter consists of an early copy of his *De Aestu Aeris*, which is substantially the same as the copy which Berkeley published. I have not reproduced that portion of the letter, but have listed above in the Addenda to volume IV, p. 209, a list of its divergences from the published text, except mere trivialities like ' 1.o ' for ' Primo.' The remainder of the letter is new, and is given in full below.

The letter is in Latin, and was addressed to Dr. Hans Sloane, at that time Secretary of the Royal Society. It is preserved among the Sloane MSS in the British Museum (No. 4040, f. 176). It is signed simply ' G.B.' and till recently it was attributed to George Brown, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; the late Dr. E. St. J. Brooks identified it as Berkeley's. In the letter Berkeley asks Sloane to publish his *De Aestu* in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society. Sloane did not do so, and Berkeley published it, after some revision, in his *Miscellanea Mathematica* (1707). The two diagrams which belong to the piece are missing.

The portion of the letter, here published, contains observations on the

phosphorescence of urine, and on the formation of stone in cockles. The letter is an autograph.

Here is the letter with the omission indicated :

TO SLOANE

Clarissime Vir,

Vidi nuper librum D. Mead, M.S. & S.R.S. cui titulus . . . (etc. as in the *De Aestu*) . . . et cf minor ck & cs minor cp. Q.e.d.

Atque haec sunt, vir clarissime, quae super hanc rem actis tuis philosophicis (si modo ea non indigna putes) mandari vellem.

Sunt & alia nonnulla quae nescio an omnino ingrata habebis viz. anni ultimo elapsi mense Novembri juvenis cujusdam Academici in horto sub noctem mingentis urina ubi in terram decidit vividissimam spargebat lucem. is confestim in aedes alios qui spectaculi compotes fierent accersitum it, dum redit autem omnis extincta est lux. porro juvenis quo pacto phosphorus accendi solet (?) in mentem revocans nonnihil sabuli urina madidum manum inter & vestem strenue fricabat, illud autem non solum pristinum recuperavit splendorem, verum etiam cuicunque rei affricaretur eundem impertivit. Non ignoro cum muriam tum aquam marinam pro noctilucis nonnumquam haberi, an vero de urina humana (etsi de ea praeparetur phosphorus vulgaris) tale aliquid jam ante observatum sit prorsus nescio. Notandum insuper est juvenem academicum tunc temporis male se habuisse, nimirum frigus corpore conceptum speciem quandam febriculae concitarat.

Alius quidam e nostris cum nuper conchas marinas (Ang. cockles) vesceretur disrupta cujusdam quae inter caeteras occursabat testa, intus quasi in proplasmate lapidem quem vocant conchiten inclusum reperit. atque hinc fortassis illa quae apud D. Woodward (tell. hist. natur, par. 5 cons. 5) de hujusmodi lapillorum origine extant lucem aliquam mutuari poterint.

Ut tu interim, vir celeberrime, haec qualiacunque aequo animo accipere digneris atque (quemadmodum soles) in reipublicae philosophicae bonum vivas & valeas enixe rogat Tui observantissimus G.B.

E. Musaeo in Trin. Coll. Dub. Junii 11. 1706

Ibid. See also Additional Letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, p. 163.

ADDITIONAL LETTER

To The Secretary,
The Society for the Propagation
of the Gospel

Febry 10th 1732/3

Reverd Sir

In answer to the favour of your letter, wherein you tell me the Society are pleased to refer themselves to me, for an account of Mr. Scot recommended by Mr. Honeyman, I must needs say that I know Mr. Scot, and am satisfied of his Meritts, both as a Scholar, a Man of good Moralls, and a diligent Schoolmaster, and do sincerely think whatever Encouragment, the Society shall think fit to give him, will be very usefully Employ'd, there being great need of a School so qualified in Rhode Island.

I lately received a letter from Mr. Honeyman himself relating to an Additional Salary of twenty pounds per annum for which he had applyed to the Society—whether his request be granted or no is yet uncertain. I beg leave to say that as he is the Oldest Missionary in America, as he hath done long and excellent Service in that Station, and is a person of very good qualifications for life and learning, it would seem that both for his own and others Encouragment he may well be distinguish'd, but how far and in what Manner the Society are proper Judges. I take this Opportunity to declare my respect and zeal for the Service of that Venerable Body and to Subscribe myself.

Reverd Sir
your Obedient Humble Servant
Geo Berkeley

The above letter is from the S.P.G. Archives, Series A, Volume 24, 1732/3; it is published in the series of the Library of Congress, ib. p. 92. I am obliged to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for permission to reproduce it, and to Canon L. F. Ballard of Trinity Church, Newport, R.I., who drew my attention to it.

On Mr. Honeyman, see above, p. 77. Mr. Scot is, no doubt, Edward Scott, who conducted a school at Newport and was one of the original members of the Newport Literary and Philosophical Society, formed in 1730.

CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

page 243	*line* 21	For 1812 read 1912
245	12	For 244 read 247
273	14	For *is it* read *it is*

VOLUME II

page 28	*line* 21	For *volocities* read *velocities*
58	4	For *Idea* read *idea*
111	16	For *fort* read *sort*
193	15	For full stop read question mark
209	2	For *various* read *variously*
214	31	For *faith* read *saith*
284	20	For *pretend* read *to pretend*

VOLUME III

page 10	*line* 21	For *Manderville* read *Mandeville*
13	8	For *VIII* read *VII*
93	13	For *felt* read *fell*
165	20	For *knowedge* read *knowledge*
305	6	For *every* read *ever*
305	40	For *101* read *142*
308	19	For *inflence* read *influence*

VOLUME IV

page 59	*line* 39	For *controvery* read *controversy*
119	42	Prefix *1* (note cue) to note
193	4	For *8s. 6d.* read *8s. 9d.*

VOLUME V

page 6	*line* 40	For *hain* read *chain*
12	32	Read *number is not a datum*
13	10	For *Sects.* read *Sect.*
32	35	For *A, B* read *A, B, C*
67	37	For *A, B, C, D* read *A, B, C*
69	42	Read *geronomica*
80	25	Read *permanently*
81	40	For *A, B, C, D* read *A, B, C, D, E*

99	41	Insert square bracket at the beginning of note 2
101	39	Insert full stop after *sang*
111	37	For *A, B* read *B*
112	40	Delete *it*
127	33	Delete square bracket at the beginning of note 5
169	12	For *with Tar-water* read *Tar with water*
171	33	For *1774* read *1744*
185	40	For *involved* read *solved*
188	18	For *aimal* read *animal*
194	42	For *preservative* read *preventive*
223	4	For *VIII* read *VII, p. 373*

VOLUME VI

page 58	*line* 11	Insert numeral referring to footnote
126	4	Read *fair towns*
185	20	For inverted comma read comma
186	11	Delete *a*
189	3	For *subjects* read *the subjects*
189	29	Read *MS*
208	39	Read *any right*

VOLUME VII

page 85	*line* 40	For *VI* read *IV*
203	12	For *neswmongers* read *newsmongers*
235	13	For *ni* read *in*
290	3	For *Abanian* read *Albanian*
373	14	For *ahd* read *and*

VOLUME VIII

page vi	*line* 42	For *Lventhal* read *Leventhal*
49	22	For *ce qui fait* read *ce qui fait que*
78	3	For *or* read *of*
220	20	For *Prsident* read *President*
250	1	Before *Faulkner's* insert [
303	18	For *pecimens* read *specimens*

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